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To

Mr. Paul Schaumberg

Remembering your cordiality

to us in San Francisco

From

Seijiro Miyajima

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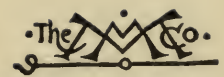
WHAT SHALL I THINK OF JAPAN?



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WHAT SHALL I THINK OF JAPAN?

BY

GEORGE GLEASON

NINETEEN YEARS YMCA SECRETARY IN JAPAN

New York

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The people of Japan are too often disliked, or as they say "misunderstood." Neither they nor their neighbors fully comprehend the reason. Dare we Americans delay a sympathetic attempt to interpret her struggles and help Japan find her place among the family of nations?

George Gleason

CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I. Why Another Book?	1
Chapter II. Japan Pro and Con	6
Chapter III. The Siberian Expedition	21
Appendix A. Correspondence between the Allied Powers and Admiral Kolchak	34
Appendix B. Number of Troops in Siberia	43
Appendix C. Cost to Japan of the Siberian Expedition	44
Chapter IV. Foreign Diplomacy to 1914	45
Appendix. Text of the Shantung Treaty between China and Germany	62
Chapter V. Blunders	71
Appendix. The Twenty-one Demands	80
Chapter VI. Signs of the New Japan	94
Appendix A. Platforms of the Friendly Society (Yuai-kai)	113
Appendix B. Professor Yoshino on Japan's Dual Government	114
Chapter VII. Japan in Manchuria	120
Chapter VIII. Japan in Korea	137
Chapter IX. Japan and China	167
Appendix A. Statement by Japanese Public Men regarding the Return of Shantung	192
Appendix B. Ultimatum issued by Japan to Germany, August 15, 1914	194
Appendix C. Non-Japanese Foreign Concessions in China	195
Chapter X. Japan and America	197
Appendix A. Ishii-Lansing Agreement of November 2, 1917	214
Appendix B. Letter from Premier Hara	216
Chapter XI. The Future of Japan	218
Chapter XII. Can Japanese be Christians?	246
Bibliography	271
Index	273

WHAT SHALL I THINK OF JAPAN?

SIBERIA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
KAMCHATKA
Nikolaievsk
SAGHALIN
KURILE ISLANDS
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Chita
Blagoveshchensk
Khabarovsk
KARAFUTO
Ulastai
Urga
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
SINKIANG
TSINGHAI
TIBET
Peking
Great Wall
Tientsin
Gulf of Pechili
Port Arthur
Dairen
Kirin
Vladivostok
Sapporo
HOKKAIDO
SEA OF JAPAN
Sendai
NIPPON
Tokyo
Yokohama
Seoul
Fusan
Yellow Sea
Kiaochow
Tsingtao
Nagasaki
SHIKOKU
KYUSHU
Osaka
Shanghai
Nanking
Hankow
Yangtze R.
Foochow
Taihoku
RYUKYU
East China Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Canton
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Tainan
Hong-Kong
Kwang Chow Bay
HAINAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Manila
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Hue
Bangkok
Saigon
Gulf of Siam
BURMA
Chittagong
Mandalay
Rangoon
ANDAMAN Is.
NICOBAR Is.
MALAY PENINSULA
Singapore
Sumatra
Equator
Sulu Sea
Sandakan
Brunei
BORNEO
Celebes Sea
CAROLINE ISLANDS
MARSHALL ISLANDS
MAP OF THE FAR EAST
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
Longitude East 120° from Greenwich 130°
MONGOLIA
Kirin
SIBERIA
Nikolaievsk
Vladivostok
Sapporo
HOKKAIDO
Great Wall
Peking
Tientsin
Gulf of Pechili
Port Arthur
Dairen
Antung
SEA OF JAPAN
Genzan
Sendai
NIPPON
Kanazawa
Fukui
Tokyo
Yokohama
Nagoya
Seoul
Chemulpo
Fusan
Wonsan
Tsingtao
Kiaochow Bay
YELLOW SEA
Mokpo
Osaka
Kobe
Yamada
Ishihara
SHIKOKU
Nagasaki
KYUSHU
Kumamoto
Yochow
Shanghai
THE STORM CENTER OF THE FAR EAST
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
Longitude East from Greenwich

WHAT SHALL I THINK OF JAPAN?

Chapter I

WHY ANOTHER BOOK?

"Why is it that when we want to like Japan she makes it so hard for us to do so?"—*A Philadelphia Quaker*

One of my first experiences in Siberia in the fall of 1918 was a 3,500 mile trip through the Japanese Camps in a forty-foot combination club and canteen freight car with my former Japanese associate in Osaka. Those jolting nights on my little army cot when I felt as if only a special intervention could keep me from jellifying, the long working days, one beginning at six and ending at three the next morning, the eager hands stretched over the counter at every stop begging to buy from our canteen, the quick change from the crimson colors of fall to the snows of the northern winter, all remain as happy, vivid memories. We stopped at nearly every station where Japanese troops were located. When there was telephone connection the Japanese officers or Russian railroad men informed the next town of our coming so that whatever the time, be it day or night,

there was always an impetuous greeting awaiting us. At one station where we arrived in the evening just after dark we looked out and saw the whole horizon on fire. From the soldiers we learned that their army had just returned to the railroad and by these camp fires the boys were trying to keep themselves and their horses from freezing. The thermometer was down below zero. Some of these fellows who had not washed for a week looked more like negroes than Japanese. After that the grimy hands were those I always liked to serve first. We also did a little for the Russian railroad men and their families, some of whom had not tasted sweets for weeks. On returning to Japan I collected several thousand boxes of candy for the sugar hungry Russian children.

When we came out of the wilds of the Amur Line and began to meet English-speaking people on the Chinese Eastern Railroad I was amazed at the almost universal criticism of the Japanese. With one exception, I believe, every foreigner I met had his stock of anti-Japanese tales, some true, some exaggerated and some without any basis in fact.

One illustration: At Bukedu in western Manchuria I was told that when an American Army pay car was on the way from Vladivostok to Habarovsk Japanese railroad guards attempted to board the car and make an examination. The American soldiers protested and when a Japanese persisted in forcing his way in, the American soldier

ran him through with a bayonet and tossed him off the car dead.

I happened to be at Habarovsk the very day that pay car arrived and knew the facts. Japanese guards at one of the stations had been over zealous in their search for Bolsheviki travelers. When they attempted to board the American car they were peremptorily ordered to keep away, which they did. The report of a slight disagreement, in 1500 miles of travel, had grown to a bayonet thrust and a dead man on the tracks.

But the impressive fact was, not that some stories had been exaggerated or were pure fabrications, but that every foreigner I met was simply stuffed with them. That one of our associated Powers, the country I had been trying to serve for nearly twenty years, was thus disliked by the other members of the Siberian expedition seemed to me a very serious problem, menacing both the future of Japan, and all other international relationships in the Far East.

When I returned to Vladivostok there also I found a noticeable change. People who five weeks before had spoken most kindly of Japan now had an air of suspicion, were ready with stories of haughty acts of Japanese officers, and reported misdeeds of the soldiers towards the Russians. Later during a trip through Manchuria, North China and Korea, I found a burning anti-Japanese spirit. One Chinese student in Peking, standing before a lady missionary about to return to Yokohama, straightened up and said with flashing eye: "Will you please tell your

Nippon friends that there isn't a man, woman, or child in China who doesn't hate the Japanese." In America, too, after my return I soon discovered that the discussions about Shantung, the reports of cruelties in Korea and the general suspicion created by the Siberian situation had turned many against Japan.

What have been the causes of this change of attitude? I have spent more than a year trying to get to the bottom of this problem, and in doing so have been led back into a study of Japan's relations with the outside world since our American Commodore Perry sailed into Yedo Bay in November, 1853. The results of these months of special investigation have impelled me to attempt an interpretation of the inner life of this rapidly evolving nation.

Most recent books on Japan impress me as partisan. Either the writer deliberately paints over the dark spots in her modern policies; or, discovering in the "Twenty-One Demands" on China evidence of militaristic ambition, he puts on his red goggles and reads back into all Japanese diplomacy the law of tooth and claw.

Let us try to distinguish frankly and impartially between right and wrong in modern Japan. My Japanese friends who read these pages will, I hope, see why Japan has made so many enemies and will be helped to know what in her thinking and conduct must be changed if she wishes to be welcomed among the nations. Such a welcome is, for Japan, a sine qua non of her future development. To the Anglo-

Saxon race I make a plea to cease repeating worn out criticisms, to discern the conflict now raging between reactionary conservatism and progressive democracy, and with Christian sympathy to support the pioneers of the new Japan.

Chapter II

JAPAN PRO AND CON

"If one should ask—no matter whom
What type of soul Japan has won,
Tell him:—
A mountain cherry tree in bloom
Splendid before the rising sun."

—*Japanese Poem*

One of the most interesting recent writers on Japan early in his book warningly says:

> "Most foreigners in Japan are ranged in two opposing camps—labelled pro- or anti-Japanese. The visitor is in danger of being haled into one or the other of these camps and thus runs the risk of becoming hopelessly biassed or one-sided."
>
> (Amos R. Hershey: *Modern Japan*, page 4)

The following stories illustrate the confusion:

"Japanese laborers were employed on my railroad in America, and on my private car I discharged the colored porters and employed only Japanese. I liked them. I was treated well in Japan. But since seeing how they have acted over here in Siberia I'll never employ another Japanese as long as I live."

Thus spoke an American railroad man in Febru-

ary, 1919, as we rode between Harbin and Vladivostok on a slowly moving train of the Chinese Eastern.

By contrast read the words of Major General Graves, the Commanding Officer of the American Expeditionary Forces in Vladivostok: "We have received only the most courteous treatment from General Otani (the Japanese Commanding General in Siberia) and the other Japanese officers. In the distribution of barracks, in coöperation in transportation, and in all other dealings we have found no cause for complaint. They have been fine people to work with."

A writer in *The New Republic* recently asserted: "Japan seldom, if ever, keeps important international promises." Not long after reading this extravagant statement, I was asked by a well-read gentleman in New York if Japan had ever been known to *break* an international agreement.

One American business man reports that because of their dishonesty he has had to give up trade with Japanese firms; while another publicly asserts that his customers in Tokyo need watching no more than his customers in Boston.

An American traveler who spent six weeks in Japan, writing in *The Nation* says:

> "The most striking and humiliating testimony as to business methods in the East came to me from a young American architect who has been in Japan for the last few years superintending

> the erection of one of the largest plants in Tokyo. He told me that he was dumb-founded at the business morals of supposedly reputable American and British firms in Japan. He had discovered, he said, that in the purchase of materials used in construction he could not trust them or the goods they supplied. He found it better to deal with Japanese firms." (*The Nation*, December 27, 1919)

The above is typical of the Japanese pro and con talk one hears all over the world. To acquaint the reader more fully with the confusion of fact in such stories about Japan I have selected the following personally investigated anecdotes from a mass of similar material which I collected during my eight months in Manchuria and Siberia. These pages will illustrate how exaggerated anti-Japanese reports are sometimes built on slim foundations. They will also reveal a series of errors committed by a certain group in the Japanese nation. While our hearts cry out against these wrongs, let us remember with friendly sympathy that growing number of Japanese who are pained equally with us by the mistaken conduct of their fellow countrymen.

The General Knox Incident

A few weeks after the allied expedition entered Siberia, General Knox, the ranking British Officer, was riding west over the Chinese Eastern Railway. At Bukedu Station, with a Russian officer who was

also in British uniform, he was walking on the platform near his train. A Japanese lieutenant who spoke English approached and abruptly said to the General: "You are German officer." Imagine the effect of such a remark on an Englishman who had been fighting the Prussians for four years. With great self-restraint General Knox made no reply and walked into his car. General Knox was in regular uniform and on the outside of his car was painted the British flag. Notwithstanding this the Japanese officer put a guard on the engine to prevent the train from starting, and with another officer and four or five soldiers with fixed bayonets entered this private car of an allied general and repeated his insulting accusation: "You are German officer." This time General Knox was very angry and told his accuser in plain English it was none of his business. Finally General Knox asked the Japanese for his card and handed out his own. Even then, when this young officer had discovered the rank and nationality of this chief of an allied army, he demanded to know who the Russian officer was. General Knox replied that this was his responsibility, and the Japanese left the car. Later when General Knox went to get the guard removed from the engine the Japanese officer made a slight apology.

As some publicity was given to this incident, the secretary to the Japanese War Minister sent a communication to an English paper in Tokyo and explained that the lieutenant had been punished for discourtesy to a high officer of a friendly army, and

had been recalled to Japan. (*Japan Advertiser*, Dec. 28, 1918.) The Japanese Ambassador in London also called at the British War Office to enquire if any further apology should be made.

Red Cross and YMCA Trains

In the fall of 1918 several trainloads of American Red Cross and YMCA supplies were shipped across the Chinese Eastern Railroad from Vladivostok to the west. The cars always displayed conspicuously the Red Cross or the Red Triangle and the American flag. There was often also a special guard of American soldiers attached to the trains. Notwithstanding the obvious nationality and object of these trains they were again and again entered and searched by Japanese railway guards. Without knocking, with no effort at a polite apology, rough booted soldiers, often with fixed bayonets, came stamping through the corridor of a private car opening all the doors and sometimes insisting on taking down the names of all on board. On a YMCA train, the head of which was a Japanese speaking secretary, the annoying searchings, at first politely endured, became so frequent that at one station when the American guards found several Japanese soldiers sitting in the compartment of the chief of the train, where on the table were his letters and private papers, they drove them out at the point of the bayonet. Similar to the above is the story told me by an American engineer: Several soldiers with fixed bayonets once en-

tered his private car, threw off the papers on the couch and sat there watching him, all the time holding their guns in readiness. At the same time one of their number went back to his room and without removing his boots took a nap on the bed. This lasted for three hours until they reached another station.

"Fight with Italians"

"Two Japanese soldiers killed by Italians, one on the street and one at the station at Harbin, two more when the Italians came through Changchun." This was a story I heard from an American engineer. The facts I found were that no Japanese soldiers had been killed by anybody in Harbin, but that at Changchun a real misunderstanding had occurred. The following official report of this Italian incident was read to me at the Changchun police station from a six inch pile of papers reporting "Dealings with Foreigners in 1918."

"On October 16th at 6:30 a. m. a train containing three Italian officers and 204 soldiers arrived at the junction of the Japanese and Russian Railroads. While they were transferring their baggage at the station a Japanese soldier going by was stopped by the Italian guard. The Japanese reported the matter to his captain who came out from his office in the station and demanded that the soldier be allowed to pass the disputed point. As they could not understand each other a warm disagreement arose. The Italians fixed bayonets and stood at attention on one

side of the station and the Japanese were called out and did the same on their side. A superior Japanese officer from general headquarters a mile away rushed over in his auto, investigated and explained the matter to the Italians and ordered his men to retire. The dispute arose over the right to a train. As the cars were furnished to the Italians by the Japanese who had obtained them from the Russians the young Japanese captain hotly claimed the right to be consulted about the matter. The Italians, not knowing the circumstances, contested their right to deal directly with the Russians and keep the Japanese away from the cars. A little language knowledge would have prevented the whole trouble.

"Business Follows the Flag"

In Siberia I frequently heard that Japanese business men, taking advantage of the political confusion and the presence of their army, were ruthlessly buying up factories, mines and other property. At Harbin I met a rabid anti-Japanese Russian. He repeated the accusation of commercial aggrandisement. Now, I thought, I can get the fact I have been looking for, and asked him what property had been bought. His disappointing reply was: "One flour mill and a small electric light station in Old Harbin (the smallest of the four districts of the city)." As there are 3,500 Japanese residents in this city of nearly 200,000 people, where are located in the city and vicinity seventeen flour mills, twenty

bean oil pressing factories and a large British packing firm, I was not deeply impressed with evidences of Japanese greed. Although hundreds of Japanese business men have been cruising around in Siberia and North Manchuria I cannot discover that any large number, excepting the barbers, laundrymen, restaurant and hotel keepers, automobile renters, small importers, money changers, bankers and shippers, are exploiting Russia. Even Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, who ought to have access to detailed information if there is any available, had to acknowledge that regarding the big concessions reported to have been granted to Japanese he could get no clear information. (Cf. *Asia*, Feb.–March, 1920, p. 166)

Smugglers

"Japanese are smuggling merchandise into Siberia on transports and military trains." This accusation I heard from many sources.

"A car which broke down on being opened was found to be full, not of ammunition, but of vodka."

"A Japanese general who travels up and down the line carries with him goods filling four trunks, the limit of baggage allowed an officer of that rank."

These stories all reached me after the trail was cold. But I investigated them as well as I could. Regarding the contraband-carrying general, an officer of his rank may carry any amount of baggage he likes, so that the four trunks limit story must be a myth. As to the vodka, the Japanese army can-

teen is run by contractors in civilian clothes. With the permission of the various local commanders they purchase goods, ship them on military transports and trains and sell them to the soldiers. As Japanese saké is sold in all these canteens the vodka story is doubtless based on saké shipments for the canteens. That the Japanese army sold to Russian civilians goods on which no duty was paid is to a small degree true, since the army allows the canteens to sell to anybody. I myself have bought soap, towels, fruit and sweets from them, but I know that their non-army business is only on a small scale. It does give ground, however, for the criticism of cheating the Russians out of the customs tax.

Some other customless goods have been brought in and sold to Russians. Mr. Ishikawa, pastor of the Russian Orthodox Church in Tokyo, to relieve his fellow believers in the Trans Baikal, sent to the west on military trains goods which were to be sold at cost by the Russian Church authorities. I met him at Harbin when he was trying to get off three carloads.

In the early days of the intervention when the lack of provisions was desperate, the Japanese army and the Economic Relief Society bought goods and sent them to Habarovsk and beyond and into the Trans Baikal district. Thirty-five carloads were sent to the Amur region and on November 21st 28,000 poods (500 tons) of flour was sent from Harbin for the relief of the famine in Trans Baikal. This was sold at Chita at a little less than cost.

Some smuggling was done. Japanese business men were discovered loading their goods on partly filled army freight cars and two canteen merchants were arrested and punished. As smuggling by Russians and Chinese was a regular part of the day's work it was only natural that some Japanese should be drawn into the maelstrom, but I found no evidence that the army deliberately allowed it.

My most effective attack on the rumor mongers was the discovery and tracing up at Harbin in February, 1919, of a warm and "very interesting" case of suspected opium smuggling on a large scale by Japanese army officers. The story was hot gossip among the Russian gendarmes, the Chinese Customs employes and the officials of the Chinese Eastern Railroad. The accused being Japanese and I being an American the case if badly handled presented the possibilities of an international mix up; if rightly handled of a big clearing of the critical atmosphere. As Colonel Kurozawa, Chief of Staff of the Japanese Quarter Master's Department (Heitanbu), had encouraged me to investigate any concrete accusation, I decided to follow up this warm trail across which no herring had been drawn.

The story going the rounds was that some small heavy boxes had been brought from the east on a Japanese military train and placed in a certain military godown on the outskirts of Harbin. A Japanese guard had been put on the building and no Russian was allowed to approach. Under the pretext of getting a line on the stuff some Russian railroad

clerks had been sent over to measure the godown. They were allowed to enter all the other compartments, but this special suspected one was tightly guarded. Grounds for the suspicion were, therefore, strong. Japanese army officers, rumor continued, had approached a Russian smuggler and offered to hand over these opium cases if he would divide the profits. The quantity being so large the smuggler did not dare to touch it unless he could get some railroad man in on the deal. The official approached said he would not mix up in it, and finally consulted General Horvath, chief of the Chinese Eastern, as to whether they should prosecute the Japanese officers. General Horvath ordered that nothing be done. Neither the Railroad nor the Chinese Customs would take up any case against the Japanese Army. This all certainly sounded "very interesting."

By appointment we met in the early forenoon at the office of the Station Master Krapivinski—Colonel Kurozawa and his three officers, the Station Master and his burly clerk, my Russian interpreter loaned from the Chinese Customs and I. The atmosphere was tense. I doubt if ever before in the history of the Japanese Army had an officer voluntarily presented himself for examination before such a tribunal. I introduced the Colonel and explained to the railway chief that I was trying to promote international friendship and thought here was a good chance to clear up an ugly rumor. I added that the Japanese had agreed to have the suspected godown examined, on condition that if no contraband was

discovered the Station Master would apologize and see that such gossip stopped. He readily agreed and added that it would be a real relief to him to have the matter settled.

Then a strange but fortunate thing happened. The godown which was originally pointed out to me as the suspected one and which Colonel Kurozawa had agreed to open was near the Station. The one they proposed to examine this morning was an old Russian munitions storehouse, the Intendanski Rosjest, on a siding two miles out from the town. The Colonel and his officers went up in the air, my heart stopped beating and I thought the jig was up. But they came down again and Bushido won the day.

"All right," said the Colonel with some heat, "tell the Station Master that we will open any godown in Harbin for his examination. The honor of the Japanese Army has been attacked. We're ready to go to the limit."

The Rubicon had been crossed. It was also perfectly evident that the stage had not been set. In two autos kindly provided by the Colonel we all, excepting the Station Master, made our way in the cold February winds out to the big godowns. They lined the double railroad tracks for nearly a quarter of a mile. The excitement of the big railroad clerk was amusing to see. What a story he would have to repeat before an admiring audience at the club tonight! And perhaps he would get the reward from the Chinese Customs for exposing a smuggling game.

The big doors of the first compartment were thrown open by the guard. Field guns and ammunition! Next compartment had boxes, overcoats and clothing only. Another, heavy artillery ammunition in neatly painted boxes. "Nothing doing here," said the railway clerk. "These aren't the suspected compartments anyway. They are at the other end." Down to the end we marched and number one was opened up. A motley array of belts, cartridge cases, guns and military stores captured from the Bolsheviks. "Where are the small boxes?" anxiously inquired the big blue coated investigator. In number two among the ammunition cases he found some smaller boxes. "Open one up," ordered the Colonel. An orderly produced a nail puller and the top was jerked off. Four three inch brass shells. The poor clerk was getting cold feet.

After more munitions, a pile of Standard Oil tins containing carbide for auto lights, stacks of carts and harnesses, cases of shovels and bales of fodder, we finally in number four found a tin box with a screwed-on top.

"What's here?"

"Ammunition."

"May we open it?"

"Off with the top!"

The soldiers drew out an explosive which looked like big pieces of chewing gum.

"May I take a piece?" asked the clerk.

"Certainly, but don't put it near your matches," was the Colonel's laconic reply.

After number five the big Russian had had enough. His countenance fell.

"Shall I apologize now?" he asked. We agreed that he should report to his chief and let the apology come from him.

Back to the autos we went, a crestfallen clerk, some happy but none the less indignant officers, a custom house interpreter who began to look wise and an American who was still wondering what the Japanese would think of the whole performance.

Arriving at the Station Master's office the clerk made his report. He exhibited the piece of chewing gum explosive as the nearest thing to opium he could find. The gentlemanly official then three times apologized to Colonel Kurozawa and thanked him for his great trouble in helping to clear away the suspicion.

"After this," he continued, "whenever a railroad man starts any such story we will at once stop the rumor and punish the man who started it. In case the gossip does not die down we will report the matter to you."

Again he apologised to the Colonel for taking his whole forenoon for this disagreeable business, thanked me for bringing them together, and we parted the best of friends.

As my mystified Custom House interpreter left me, his face lighted up.

"Now I understand," he said, "I understand. This is a story invented by the real smugglers to draw a herring across their own trail."

Are the Japanese Honest?

I cannot resist here referring to the oft repeated question: "Why do the Japanese employ Chinese cashiers in their banks?" Let David Starr Jordan reply: "In 1911 there were 2,133 native banks in Japan, whereof one had two Chinese tellers, one of these being in jail for embezzlement when this count was made." The impression that Chinese are handling the money in Japanese banks has been given to visitors in the port cities. These travelers carry letters of credit to the British or American banking houses. These foreign banking houses were established originally by their agents in China who brought over a trained staff of Chinese clerks. As much of their business is still done with China and as the Chinese are experts in the intricate Oriental exchange, Chinese are still retained. The Chinese cashier story, therefore, is more of a reflection upon Britishers and Americans than upon the Japanese.

If this chapter has accomplished its purpose it will have left the reader with an open mind regarding our Oriental neighbor. The remaining chapters will be an attempt to answer the question: "What shall I think of Japan?"

Chapter III

THE SIBERIAN EXPEDITION

Early in the spring of 1918 the Japanese Government was considering intervention in Siberia. From the outset the authorities were divided into two parties, the aggressive, which favored the sending of a large army through to the Urals to rid the country of the Bolsheviks and Germans; and the conservative, which hesitated to launch a large undertaking so far from the shores of Japan. The party favoring intervention was supported by the British army officers, many of whom a year later even were still expecting the revival in Russia of some form of a monarchy. They believed that the only solution of the Russian problem was the prompt suppression of the Bolsheviks. To this policy of intervention President Wilson officially placed America in flat opposition. He did this in a note to the Japanese Government which Mr. Polk of the State Department in March, 1918, read to a dinner of the Allied Ambassadors in Washington. (*The Nation*, Jan. 10, 1920)

This policy was favored by the majority in Japan and in May, 1918, the Japanese government definitely decided not to dispatch an army to Russia.

Two months later, however, the American govern-

ment, after further study of the situation, suddenly and perhaps without due consultation with her associate announced to Japan that she was going to dispatch a small military force to Vladivostok to prevent the military stores from falling into the hands of the Germans, and also to rescue the Czechs. These two were the main purposes of the expedition. Japan at once replied that she would join, and a public announcement was made at Washington: "American troops numbering about 7,000 under Major-General William S. Graves, and an equal number of Japanese troops under General Kikuzo Otani (who as ranking officer will be commander in the field) will coöperate with the Czecho-Slovaks in undertaking to clear Siberia of the Austrians and Germans, liberated prisoners of war, who have been trying to control that vast region." (*The Outlook*, Aug. 21, 1918)

Japan sent her Twelfth Division which made its headquarters at Habarovsk and America sent the Twenty-Seventh and the Thirty-First Regiments, establishing headquarters at Habarovsk and Vladivostok. A few English, Canadian, French, Italian and Chinese soldiers also joined the "Rainbow Army." (For exact number see Appendix to this chapter.) General Otani, being the ranking officer, was made Commander in Chief and a real allied army seemed to be organized. The Czechs were quickly relieved from the Bolsheviks who were pressing them on the front north of Vladivostok; and in twenty days from the time they landed the

Japanese soldiers had advanced 1,000 miles to Blagoveschensk, well up on the Amur. As General Yuhi, the Japanese Chief of Staff, related the fact he laconically added: "I wonder if ever another army advanced as far in so short a time."

From the first the coöperation at Vladivostok was friendly and cordial. General Otani and his staff did everything possible to promote unity and good feeling. The British and French, perhaps because of their large financial interests in Russia, soon dispatched their troops to the interior and supported the Czechs and the Omsk Government in their fight with the Bolsheviks. The Americans, after the sudden opening of the Trans-Siberian in August, 1918, and the consequent relief of the Czech army, and after the assurance of the safety of the Vladivostok stores were soon left with nothing further to do. They settled therefore at Habarovsk, Vladivostok and nearby towns where there were Russian barracks and adopted a policy of watchful waiting. There was much to watch and long to wait. Suddenly strange reports began to roll into Vladivostok that large bodies of Japanese troops had appeared in the Trans-Baikal Province, at Irkutsk, Chita, up on the Amur Line and in North Manchuria. Questions put to the Japanese Staff brought the reply that these troops were not under General Otani's command. At once all sorts of wild rumors filled the air. Intelligence officers were sent out by the Americans to investigate movements of the Japanese troops and to try to find out what they were about.

Even though I had a letter of introduction from Baron Goto, the Foreign Minister, when I arrived in Vladivostok on September 19th, I could not make out the puzzle until early in November. After traveling nearly 4,000 miles in a YMCA club freight car over the Amur Line to Chita and back to Vladivostok I finally learned from a Japanese army officer that Japan had three separate armies in Siberia and North Manchuria—the Twelfth Division coöperating with the Allies at Vladivostok, the Seventh Division with headquarters at Manchuli which was guarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the huge Third Division with headquarters at Chita. The Twelfth Division was controlled from Vladivostok, the Seventh Division from the Kwantung Administration at Port Arthur, the Third Division directly from the General Staff in Tokyo. The result was that General Otani who was supposed to be the head of the inter-allied expedition in Siberia was in command of only a third of the Japanese Army, and complaints brought to him of the conduct of the soldiers of the Third and Seventh Divisions he had to acknowledge he was powerless to touch.

These facts gradually becoming known at the Vladivostok national headquarters killed that complete faith and trust in Japan which characterized the early days of the expedition. Rumors were also circulated that Japanese troops had appeared at the mouth of the Amur, at a place east of Kirin on the coast of Manchuria and on the trade route from

Mongolia. Thus, rumor said, Japan had control of every commercial door into eastern Russia. "What has Japan up her sleeve?" was the universal question. The country which had announced in July that she would join America in sending a small expedition of 7,000 or 8,000 troops now had over 70,000 in Siberia and Manchuria north of Changchun. Japanese who are perplexed at the cause of so much anti-Japanese feeling in northern Asia will find in this uncoöperative method of dispatching her troops a chief cause for the recent widespread suspicion. Army men may affirm that Japanese citizens and their interests in Manchuria were in danger and the dispatch of large forces was the only method of protecting them as well as the Czechs; diplomats may explain that with the decision to join America in a small expedition the pro-intervention-on-a-large-scale party took the bit in their teeth and ran away with the Foreign Office; others may say that America was notified of this change of plan. But many who knew the facts of the presence of these three armies, remembering as all foreigners in the Far East do the "Twenty-one Demands" on China in 1915, concluded that somewhere in Japan there was a plan for enhancing Japan's prestige in Northern Asia while the Allies were wrestling with Germany in the trenches of devastated France. This conclusion that behind the deeds of the spring of 1915 and the summer of 1918 was a purpose contrary to the new spirit of international dealings has roused suspicions which were confirmed by the insistent demands at Paris for

Shantung and by the aggressive military action in Siberia after the withdrawal of the other armies in the spring of 1920; and which will require not months but years of honest generous diplomacy to remove.

Annihilation of the Tanaka Detachment

On February 26th, 1919, at Yufuka in the Amur district a detachment of 250 Japanese soldiers under Major Tanaka was surprised in the night by a strong force of Russians and completely annihilated. At about the same time around Blagoveschensk there were several other engagements so that the total loss of Japanese in encounters with so-called Bolsheviks up to August, 1919, was 573 killed and 473 wounded. These losses coming to the Japanese army alone while the other allies were almost untouched aroused not a little resentment in Japan, and as the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* expressed it "worked considerably on the nerves of the Japanese Government authorities."

Some of the newspapers vented their irritation on the War Office and some on the Americans. The *Osaka Mainichi* in its issue of March 4th:

"In this unfortunate encounter (at Yufuka) we must see evidences of the complete loss of influence and popularity of our expeditionary forces in Siberia. Our army Commander, Otani, the so-called Generalissimo of the Allied Forces, is not at all recognized as such among the armies of the several countries. As a result the situation in Siberia has given

our men, from the officers down to the common soldiers, the appearance of nothing more than subordinate followers of others. This after all proves that the policy of the Imperial Government in the Siberian intervention has in it no consistency."

Most of the Tokyo vernacular papers accused the American Expeditionary Force of "lacking in the spirit of coöperation and being in sympathy with the Bolshevik uprisings." The Tokyo *Asahi* declared that "the recent engagements which proved so disastrous to the Japanese resulted as it did because the American military authorities, despite an urgent request on the part of the Japanese, declined to help the latter in the battle with the Bolsheviks."

"A Power," said the *Kokumin*, "has recently been very sympathetic towards the Bolsheviks and takes an indifferent attitude towards their uprisings, always declining to help the Japanese troops which have engaged in battles which have resulted in serious losses to the Japanese."

Most of the papers reported that before the terrible annihilation of Major Tanaka's detachment the Americans at Harbarovsk had been asked to send reinforcements and had rejected the request. But neither Colonel Styer nor General Graves had declined the proposal, as is made plain in the following report given out to press correspondents on March 14th by the American headquarters in Vladivostok:

"On February 14th General Oi, the Japanese commander at Habarovsk, asked Colonel Styer for a company of American troops to assist in suppress-

ing a Bolshevik uprising in Blagoveschensk district. Colonel Styer referred the matter to General Graves at Vladivostok who sent his Chief of Staff Colonel Robinson to enquire whether the revolt was actually a Bolshevik uprising or whether the people were simply arming themselves in an effort to have protection against the cruelty practised on them by the Cossacks. Behind General Graves' question was the determination not to use American troops against people who were merely resisting persecution and violence. General Yuhi, the Japanese Chief of Staff, said he had no information tending to prove that the persons referred to were Bolsheviks and he asked General Graves to take no action pending word from him. Since then General Graves has heard nothing from General Yuhi." (Quoted in *North China Star*, March 25, 1919)

This is one of several cases of friction arising from the lack of an allied policy which Japan, as the most interested party, should have promoted.

Japanese and American Policies Compared

The Americans took pride in the fact that although they did their best to relieve the little Czech army up on the Ussuri in the summer of 1918 and made a forced march of seventy miles through indescribable mud and rain, some of the soldiers doing the last day's seventeen miles in bare feet, the Americans in the first eight months never killed a Russian. Americans did not attack Bolsheviks because in regard to

Russia their minds were not made up and they suspected that those who shot Bolsheviks were shooting at an idea, and "you can't kill an idea with a gun." As one thoughtful American said, "It may be that Russia is in the throes of bringing to birth a new economic basis of human relations which may be as great a contribution to human progress as Luther's Reformation and the Abolition of the Slaves. Birth means travail. Prematurely stop the travail and death results. Of only one thing are we Americans sure: the improvement of the railroad will help Russia."

And so the American engineers who came to help Russia reorganize her transportation and revive the front against Germany, if our above metaphor is correct, coöperated in putting a healthy artery of peace, plenty and hope through the very heart of Russia. By so doing they tried to improve conditions so that any great idea Russia had to give to the world might be born. Americans are not pro-Bolshevik, they cannot uphold the destruction of life and property nor the rapid consumption of the capital and wealth accumulated in the past decades. Neither are Americans entirely anti-Bolshevik. We cannot be a party to suppressing the legitimate ambitions of the long oppressed peasants and workers. We have, therefore, seen in Siberia that the one thing we could safely do was to improve the railroad, guard it and announce to the people that they must keep their quarrels away from the railway zone. This policy of neutrality between the Omsk

Government and the Bolsheviks made the Americans persona non grata to both sides. But underneath all the acts of the Americans has been the conviction expressed by General Graves when I first met him:

"The Russians must be made to believe that the Allies are working to get the will of the people carried out in the Russian Government. Only when the people are thus convinced will they welcome us."

Thus both the military and political policies of Japan and America in Siberia have been different. The same may perhaps be said of policies of the other Allies. But as both the American and the Japanese people were given to understand that their governments were coöperating the discovery that they were not has aroused ill-will. This has expressed itself in caustic newspaper articles and in the friction evidenced in the stories related above.

Due allowance must, of course, be made for friction arising through language difficulties. Lack of knowledge of English and Russian by the Japanese army men and of Japanese by the other associated powers probably accounts for more than half of the little unpleasant incidents. As I speak their language I have had only one or two disagreeable experiences. In fact, unfriendly acts from my own countrymen have been more frequent than from the Japanese.

In studying the Japanese in Siberia one should also remember that the Nippon soldier has been trained to fight and not to make friends. As the Siberian expedition was essentially a campaign of friendship

the Japanese were handicapped at the start. They did, however, make honest efforts to remove all causes of offence and since the first of December, 1918, with rare exceptions acted towards both the Russians and Allies with great punctiliousness. At Christmas a most thoughtful act of courtesy was performed. Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress presented every American soldier with cigarettes, the Crown Prince sent candy and the Soldiers' Relief Society sent each man a cake of soap, a package of writing paper and a set of post cards.

Conclusion

At the end of 1918 there were three unfinished international tasks in Siberia:

1. The development of a United Military Program.
2. The development of a United Political Program.
3. The solution of the Railroad Problem.

If Japan, before the Peace Conference acted, could have led the associated Powers to unite in these three ways she might have won the right at that time to be called the Preserver of the Peace of the Orient.

The question of the railroad management was settled late in January and in March public announcements began to be made. By May the 160 American engineers, 130 Japanese and a few Chinese, British, French, Italians, and Czechs were helping the Russians to put their traffic system in order. A united military and political program was harder to achieve. The cause can be found partly in the history of Japan

and America, and I might add England too. But the chief cause for the continued confusion was Japan's lack of frankness. Not only did she send her second and third armies without due conference with the associated Powers, but when they were united under General Otani on December 5th no public announcement was made. Also she failed to consult with her Allies regarding the return of the 34,000 soldiers which was abruptly announced on December 28th, and finally not until the other armies had withdrawn did she publicly acknowledge her support of the Cossack Atamans, Semenov and Kalmikov.

The other Powers, knowing that Japan was acting thus independently, also continued their separate policies, until the confusion became so great that they all decided, outside of coöperating on the railroad management, to worry along until orders should come from the Paris Conference. Such instructions never came. An effort at united action, delayed and abortive, was finally made in May, 1919, when a note signed by Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, Makino and Wilson was sent offering on certain conditions united aid to Admiral Kolchak. (Cf. Appendix to this chapter for the full text.) Kolchak accepted the conditions and American arms were shipped. This was a disappointing reversal of the American policy of strict neutrality. It accomplished nothing, as Kolchak was soon overpowered by the Soviet forces, and it lost us the moral leadership in both Russia and Japan which we had won

by a consistent policy of patient neutrality and friendly service to all the Russians.

The delay in treaty ratification by the American Senate prevented the early functioning of the League of Nations. The American Government, without waiting for the repatriation of the Czechs or the formation of a united policy for Siberia, and without full consultation with Japan, prompted evidently by confused political conditions at home, abruptly announced in January, 1920, the intention to remove from Siberia all Americans including soldiers, Red Cross workers and railroad engineers. Suddenly deserted by her associates Japan, ambitious for control of new wealth and fearful of Bolshevism, wavered for two months between complete withdrawal and reinforced military occupation. With the dissolution of the Diet late in February and the consequent removal of restraint on the military party the government early in April announced its decision to remain in Siberia. A policy of aggressive control of the railroad east of Lake Baikal seems to have been adopted. Thus resulting from President Wilson's invitation in 1918 for a coöperative expedition we see Japan forcibly intrenching herself in eastern Siberia, adding the Russians to her list of neighbor enemies, while America washes her hands and goes home. Confusion at Washington and indecision in Tokyo have created a Siberian problem pregnant with grave perils.

Appendix to Chapter III

A. Correspondence between the Allied and Associated Powers and Admiral Kolchak (John Spargo: "Russia as an American Problem," pp. 392–401)

I

Despatch to Admiral Kolchak, dated May 26, 1919

The Allied and Associated Powers feel that the time has come when it is necessary for them once more to make clear the policy they propose to pursue in regard to Russia.

It has always been a cardinal axiom of the Allied and Associated Powers to avoid interference in the internal affairs of Russia. Their original intervention was made for the sole purpose of assisting the struggle against German autocracy and to free their country from German rule, and in order to rescue the Czecho-Slovaks from the danger of annihilation at the hands of the Bolshevik forces.

The Overtures to Moscow

Since the signature of the armistice on November 11, 1918, they have kept forces in various parts of Russia. Munitions and supplies have been sent to assist those associated with them at a very considerable cost. No sooner, however, did the Peace Conference assemble than they endeavored to bring peace and order to Russia by inviting representatives of all the warring governments within Russia to

meet them, in the hope that they might be able to arrange a permanent solution of Russian problems.

This proposal, and a later offer to relieve the distress among the suffering millions of Russia, broke down through the refusal of the Soviet government to accept the fundamental conditions of suspending hostilities while negotiations for the work of relief were proceeding.

Some of the Allied and Associated Governments are now being pressed to withdraw their troops and to incur no further expense in Russia, on the ground that continued intervention shows no prospect of producing an early settlement. They are prepared, however, to continue their assistance on the lines laid down below, provided they are satisfied that it will really help the Russian people to liberty, self-government, and peace.

The Allied and Associated Governments now wish to declare formally that the object of their policy is to restore peace within Russia by enabling the Russian people to assume control of their own affairs through the instrumentality of a freely elected Constituent Assembly, and to restore peace along its frontiers by arranging for the settlement of disputes in regard to the boundaries of the Russian state and its relations with its neighbors through the peaceful arbitration of the League of Nations.

The Conditions of Recognition

They are convinced by their experiences of the last twelve months that it is not possible to attain

these ends by dealings with the Soviet government of Moscow. They are therefore disposed to assist the government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates with munitions, supplies, and food to establish themselves as the government of All-Russia, provided they receive from them definite guaranties that their policy has the same objects in view as that of the Allied and Associated Powers. With this object they would ask Admiral Kolchak and his associates whether they would agree to the following as the conditions upon which they accept continued assistance from the Allied and Associated Powers:

1. That as soon as they reach Moscow they will summon a Constituent Assembly, elected by a free, secret, and democratic franchise as the supreme legislature for Russia, to which the government of Russia must be responsible, or, if at that time order is not sufficiently restored, they will summon the Constituent Assembly elected in 1917 to sit until such time as new elections are possible.

2. That throughout the areas which they at present control they will permit free elections in the normal course for all local and legally constituted assemblies, such as municipalities, zemstvos, etc.

3. That they will countenance no attempt to revive the special privileges of any class or order in Russia. The Allied and Associated Powers have noted with satisfaction the solemn declarations made by Admiral Kolchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. They feel that the principles to be followed in the

solution of this and other internal questions must be left to the free decision of the Russian Constituent Assembly; but they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens, and will make no attempt to reintroduce the régime which the Revolution has destroyed.

4. That the independence of Finland and Poland be recognized, and, in the event of the frontiers and other relations between Russia and these countries not being settled by agreement, they will be referred to the arbitration of the League of Nations.

5. That if a solution of the relations between Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Caucasian and Trans-Caspian territories and Russia is not speedily reached by agreement, the settlement will be made in consultation and coöperation with the League of Nations, and that until such settlement is made the government of Russia agrees to recognize these territories as autonomous, and to confirm the relations which may exist between their de facto governments and the Allied and Associated Governments.

6. That the right of the Peace Conference to determine the future of the Rumanian part of Bessarabia be recognized.

7. That as soon as a government for Russia has been constituted on a democratic basis Russia should join the League of Nations and coöperate with the other members in the limitation of armaments and military organization throughout the world.

Finally, that they abide by the declaration made

by Admiral Kolchak's government on November 27, 1918, in regard to Russia's national debts.

The Allied and Associated Powers will be glad to learn as soon as possible whether the government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates are prepared to accept these conditions, and also whether, in the event of acceptance, they will undertake to form a single government, and as soon as the military situation makes it possible.

(Signed) G. Clemenceau,
D. Ll. George,
V. E. Orlando,
Woodrow Wilson,
Makino.

II

Reply of Admiral Kolchak to the Powers

Dated Omsk, June 4, 1919
(Original in French)

The government over which I preside has been happy to learn that the policy of the Allied and Associated Powers in regard to Russia is in perfect accord with the task which the Russian government itself has undertaken, that government being anxious above all things to reëstablish peace in the country and to assure to the Russian people the right to decide their own destiny in freedom by means of a Constituent Assembly. I appreciate highly the interest shown by the Powers as regards the national movement, and consider their wish to

make certain of the political conviction with which we are inspired as legitimate. I am therefore ready to confirm once more my previous declaration, which I have always regarded as irrevocable.

The Constituent Assembly

(1) On November 18, 1918, I assumed power, and I shall not retain that power one day longer than is required by the interests of the country. My first thought at the moment when the Bolsheviks are definitely crushed will be to fix the date for the elections of the Constituent Assembly. A commission is now at work on direct preparation for them on the basis of universal suffrage. Considering myself as responsible before that Constituent Assembly, I shall hand over to it all my powers in order that it may freely determine the system of government. I have, moreover, taken the oath to do this before the supreme Russian tribunal, the guardian of legality. All my efforts are aimed at concluding the civil war as soon as possible by crushing Bolshevism in order to put the Russian people effectively in a position to express its free-will. Any prolongation of this struggle would only postpone the moment.

The government, however, does not consider itself authorized to substitute for the inalienable right of free and legal elections the mere reëstablishment of the Assembly of 1917, which was elected under a régime of Bolshevist violence, and the majority of

whose members are now in the Sovietist ranks. It is to the legally elected Constituent Assembly alone, which my government will do its utmost to convoke promptly, that there will belong the sovereign rights of deciding the problem of the Russian state both in the internal and external affairs of the country.

(2) We gladly consent to discuss at once with the powers all international questions, and in doing so shall aim at the free and peaceful developments of peoples, the limitation of armaments, and the measures calculated to prevent new wars, of which the League of Nations is the highest expression. The Russian Government thinks, however, that it should recall the fact that the final sanction of the decisions which may be taken in the name of Russia will belong to the Constituent Assembly. Russia cannot now, and cannot in the future, ever be anything but a democratic state, where all questions involving modifications of the territorial frontiers and of external relations must be ratified by a representative body which is the natural expression of the people's sovereignty.

(3) Considering the creation of a unified Polish state to be one of the chief of the normal and just consequences of the World War, the government thinks itself justified in confirming the independence of Poland proclaimed by the Provisional government of 1917, all the pledges and decrees of which we have accepted. The final solution of the question of delimiting the frontiers between Russia and Poland must, however, in conformity with the principles

set forth above, be postponed till the meeting with the Constituent Assembly. We are disposed at once to recognize the de facto government of Finland, but the final solution of the Finnish question must belong to the Constituent Assembly.

(4) We are fully disposed at once to prepare for the solution of the questions concerning the fate of the national groups in Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and of the Caucasian and Trans-Caspian countries, and we have every reason to believe that a prompt settlement will be made, seeing that the government is assuring, as from the present time, the autonomy of the various nationalities. It goes without saying that the limits and conditions of these autonomous institutions will be settled separately as regards each of the nationalities concerned. And even in case difficulties should arise in regard to the solution of these various questions the government is ready to have recourse to the collaboration and good offices of the League of Nations with a view to arriving at a satisfactory settlement.

(5) The above principle, implying the ratification of the agreements by the Constituent Assembly, should obviously be applied to the question of Bessarabia.

(6) The Russian government once more repeats its declaration of November 27, 1918, by which it accepted the burden of the national debt of Russia.

(7) As regards the question of internal politics, which can only interest the powers in so far as they reflect the political tendencies of the Russian gov-

ernment, I make point of repeating that there cannot be a return to the régime which existed in Russia before February, 1917. The provisional solution which my government has adopted in regard to the agrarian question aims at satisfying the interest of the great mass of the population, and is inspired by the conviction that Russia can only be flourishing and strong when the millions of Russian peasants receive all guaranties for the possession of the land. Similarly as regards the régime to be applied to the liberated territories, the government, far from placing obstacles in the way of the free election of local assemblies, municipalities, and zemstvos, regards the activities of these bodies and also the development of the principle of self-government as the necessary conditions for the reconstruction of the country, and is already actually giving them its support and help by all the means at its disposal.

(8) Having set ourselves the task of reëstablishing order and justice and of insuring individual security to the persecuted population which is tired of trials and exactions, the government affirms the equality before the law of all classes and all citizens without any special privileges. All shall (enjoy?) without distinction of origin or of religion the protection of the state and of the law. The government whose head I am is concentrating all the forces and all the resources at its disposal in order to accomplish the task which it has set itself at this decisive hour. I speak in the name of all national Russia. I am

confident that, Bolshevism once crushed, satisfactory solutions will be found for all questions which equally concern all these populations whose existence is bound up with that of Russia.

(Signed) KOLCHAK

III

Dated Paris, June 12, 1919.

The Allied and Associated Powers wish to acknowledge receipt of Admiral Kolchak's reply to their note of May 26th. They welcome the tone of that reply, which seems to them to be in substantial agreement with the propositions which they had made and to contain satisfactory assurances for the freedom, self-government, and peace of the Russian people and their neighbors. They are, therefore, willing to extend to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in their original letter.

(Signed) D. LLOYD GEORGE,
WOODROW WILSON,
G. CLEMENCEAU,
V. E. ORLANDO,
N. MAKINO.

B. Number of Troops in Siberia

On September 15, 1919, Secretary of War Baker told the Military Committee of the House of Representatives that there were at that time 60,000 Japanese troops in Siberia, as against 8,477 Americans, 1429 British, 1,400 Italians and 1,076 French.

(Quoted from *New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1919, by Spargo, p. 250)

C. Up to the end of 1919 Japan had expended on the Siberian expedition Yen 300,000,000. (Yukio Ozaki in *Japan Chronicle*, Feb. 12, 1920)

Chapter IV

FOREIGN DIPLOMACY TO 1914

"Toru sao no kokoro nagaku zo kogi yukan
Ashima no obune sawari ari tomo."

(Making long our heart like the punting pole, let us row on,
Even though the little boat finds many obstacles among the reeds.)

—*Emperor Meiji Tenno*

In the next two chapters we shall study Japan's contact with foreign countries and attempt to locate the date when force began to play too large a part in Japan's international dealings. We shall try to answer the question: When did Militarism show its head in Japan?

One phase of Militarism is a national policy of expansion by military force. The expansion may be territorial or commercial, and the force may be used or threatened. In this sense Militarism in Japan dates, it seems to me, from about 1914. For sixty years after the signing of the treaty with Commodore Perry by the Shogun the foreign diplomacy of Japan ranks in integrity and fairness with the best of the West. Any attempt to read back into the past the spirit of the "Twenty-one Demands" on China, and the confused policies in Siberia will do an injustice to a brilliant nation struggling in narrow limits with

poverty and meager natural resources. On the other hand failure on the part of the Japanese to realize that for several years their government, slow to discern the growing world hatred of Militarism, has been backing the wrong horse, will result some day in a disastrous and unnecessary setback to her just and legitimate progress.

The first white men to land on the soil of the island realm were Portuguese under Mendez Pinto. Bringing guns, powder, cotton and tobacco, they arrived in 1542. Seven years later Francis Xavier and his missionary band introduced Christianity. For fifty years the new religion flourished, until the militaristic methods of the missionaries antagonized Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1597 this "Napoleon of Japan" authorized a persecution. This decision resulted from a casual remark by an obscure Spaniard. A richly laden galleon from Manila bound for South America had been wrecked and seized by Japanese officers. The pilot, wishing to save his vessel, showed his captors a map of the world and the vast extent of the Spanish possessions. In answering the question how these wide domains were obtained he made the historic reply: "Our kings begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer missionaries who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent to combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest." (Quoted in Putnam Weale: *The Truth about China and Japan*, p. 25)

In 1600 Dutch traders came bringing with them the English pilot, Will Adams. His knowledge of ship building won him such favor that he spent the remainder of his life in Japan.

For a time the profits from foreign trade overcame the hatred of the Christians. Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, even sent an emissary to Europe to observe the conduct of Christians in their own country. But the report of inquisitions and religious strife, the fear that behind the missionaries were the guns of Spain and the suspicions which developed locally led the Shogun in 1614 to publish an edict banishing the foreign priests. By 1640 practically all foreigners had been driven out. Only on Deshima, a small island in Nagasaki harbor, did a few Dutch traders remain. For two hundred years, except for this one small aperture, Japan remained absolutely sealed against the influences of the West.

Three shocks awoke the self-centered foreigner-hating little Empire:

1. The ready guns on Commodore Perry's ten American ships as they steamed into Yokohama in February, 1854, demanding an answer to his request for a treaty made the previous fall. The whaling industry in Russian and Alaskan waters had attracted thousands of American seamen. In one year as many as eighty-six of these whaling vessels passed within sight of Japan's shores. Some had been wrecked and the sailors mistreated. The American government demanded that protection for her

citizens should be guaranteed by treaty. The presence of an American fleet manned by 2,000 sailors threw the Empire into a panic. Orders were given that at the seven principal shrines and all the great temples "prayers should be offered for the safety of the land and for the destruction of the aliens." The anti-foreign party finally yielded and the treaty was signed. Writing of the peaceful manner of these negotiations, Dr. S. Wells Williams, Perry's secretary, says: "Not a shot has been fired, not a man wounded, not a piece of property destroyed, not a boat sunk, or a single Japanese who is worse off, so far as we know, for the visit of the American expedition." (*Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, by his son, New York and London, 1889)

2. The bombardment of Kagoshima in 1861 by the British. An Englishman had been killed near Yokohama by an attendant of the Prince of Satsuma for a supposed insult to the dignity of the feudal lord. An indemnity was demanded. As it was refused, the forts of Kogoshima, the Satsuma stronghold in South Japan, were razed and the indemnity increased threefold.

3. The bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864. The two influential clans of Japan were Satsuma and Choshu. The Satsuma men had learned their lesson at Kagoshima. At Shimonoseki the Choshu leaders were to learn theirs. From their forts they had repeatedly fired upon foreign vessels as they steamed through the straits. In 1864 a combined squadron of British, French, Dutch and American warships

silenced the forts, spiked every gun and demanded an indemnity of $3,000,000. This the Shogun paid.

These three exhibitions of the military power of the western nations stirred Japan. The secrets of the West must be unearthed. Foreign books and teachers were introduced and students were sent abroad. In 1871 the famous Iwakura mission of fifty men, including the late Prince Ito, travelled to the United States and Europe to collect information concerning European institutions and methods of government. By a rapid imitation and adaptation of the science and diplomacy of the West, Japan has jumped from calm, ignorant isolation, typified by the great Kamakura meditating Buddha, to an educated, restless powerful nation quick to hear every tap on the wires of the world.

How did she win her way? With foreign countries, by two wars—with China in 1894 and with Russia ten years later. It is a curious fact also that in just exactly another decade she was fighting Germany at Tsingtau; so that Japanese say they have a war every ten years.

If ever wars were fought in self defense the wars with China and Russia come under that category.

China–Japan War

The roots of the war of 1894–5 go back more than ten years to the intrigues of T'ai Wen Kun the Regent of the young Korean King. He was an anti-foreign trouble monger. When his son made a

treaty with Japan he instigated an attack on the Japanese Legation. The Mikado sent troops and demanded reparation, and China as the suzerain power also sent her troops. These remained in Seoul two years. Finally Li Hung Chang invited the bothersome Kun to a dinner on board a Chinese man-of-war and kidnapped the man, sailing away with him to China. But Kun was soon back and stirred up a revolution against his pro-foreign son, the King. Japan and China intervened again. It was at this time that Li Hung Chang and Count Ito made the treaty which, broken by China in 1894, led to the war with Japan. The treaty was concluded at Tientsin on April 18, 1885. It was agreed that the two contracting Powers should withdraw their troops from Korea within four months; and that "in case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea which might necessitate the respective countries or either of them sending troops to Korea, it is understood that each shall give notice in writing of its intention to do so, and that after the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops."

For the next ten years Japan endeavored to reform Korea and to keep her an independent state. China opposed the reforms and tried to keep Korea under her thumb. Finally in May, 1894, the "Tong-haks," the predecessors of the "Tendokyo" leaders in the recent anti-Japanese demonstrations, rebelled against the corrupt Korean Court. The Chinese Resident Yuan Shih-K'ai, thinking Japan too busy with her own internal troubles to dispatch her soldiers, urged

the Chinese Premier Li Hung Chang to dispatch a force to the peninsula. Three thousand troops were sent. In accordance with the treaty of 1885 Japan was notified that China was sending troops to protect her "tributary State." This method of referring to Korea was resented by Japan. She responded by dispatching a mixed brigade numbering 8,000, made up of infantry, cavalry and artillery. The rebellion was quickly put down. The troops of both China and Japan should have been promptly withdrawn. But Japan, weary with the continued uprisings and the wretched government of the Court, proposed that China join with her in urging reforms. China curtly replied that no reforms would be started until after the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the peninsula. The King of Korea also requested the Japanese to leave, adding that as the Chinese had been invited to come her troops might leave when they chose. Russia too entered the field and emphatically advised Japan to withdraw. Again Japan approached China proposing joint action in the reforms and insisting on the observance of the treaty of Tientsin. China's second curt refusal either to join in the reforms or withdraw her troops forced Japan to choose between the permanent occupation of Korea by China or war. The Japanese Minister presented an ultimatum demanding that the treaty of 1885 be observed. Yuan Shih-K'ai, underestimating Japan's intentions, refused to move. The next day, July 23, 1894, the war began.

The two declarations of war make interesting

reading. China haughtily refers to her enemy as Wo Jen or Dwarfs, and proclaims that Japan is a breaker of treaties and "runs rampant with her false and treacherous actions, while China has always followed the paths of philanthropy and perfect justice throughout the whole controversy." The Japanese document is moderate in tone and carefully worded.

The war, so unnecessary for China, was for Japan a series of easy and continuous victories on both land and sea. On April 17th of the following year the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. China ceded to Japan Formosa, the Pescadores and the Liaotung promontory, including Port Arthur and Dairen. She agreed to pay an indemnity, to open some new ports and to give Japan further privileges of navigation in Chinese rivers.

During this war Japan had 240,000 men engaged, besides 61,495 employes and 100,000 coolies. The cost of the war was Y171,020,000, which was all met by the indemnity. It was Japan's first modern war, and it was fought to keep China from dominating Korea. This review of the negotiations leading to the outbreak of hostilities does not show that Japan had any other desire than self-protection. For a little study of the map will show that any country dominating Korea would have a strangle hold upon Japan. After the victory Japan's demands were the customary rewards of successful conflicts with China, as the dealings of the European nations with the Celestial Empire clearly prove.

The Next Ten Years

The ten years between the China–Japan War and the Russo–Japan War were years of perpetual intrigue and counter-intrigue on the part of Russia, Germany, England, France and Japan. Only thirty years old in modern diplomacy, Japan was an eager learner from the more experienced governments of the West. The acuteness of her statesmen to discern the essential elements in the diplomatic maze of this decade gives ground to hope that if the nations of the West honestly decide to give up Militarism and adopt the diplomacy of open-hearted friendship Japan will quickly fall in line and be a powerful exponent in the Far East of the new internationalism. What were the conditions she faced twenty-five years ago?

On April 23, 1895, just six days after Japan signed the peace treaty with China, the paw of the Russian Bear fell heavily on the Island Empire. The fruits of her first great war were promptly snatched away. Backed by the Czar, the Kaiser and the President of France, the Russian Minister in Tokyo handed to the Japanese Government the following memorandum (condensed):

"The Government of His Majesty the Czar, in examing the conditions of peace which Japan has imposed upon China finds that the possession of the peninsula of Liaotung would be a perpetual obstacle to the peace of the Far East. Consequently the Government of His Majesty the Emperor, my au-

gust Master, *would give a new proof of its sincere friendship* for the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan by advising it to renounce the possession of the Peninsula of Liaotung."

Honeyed words concealing the Bear's sharp claws! What could Japan do? With a standing army of 67,000 men and a navy of 61,000 tons this little eastern Empire was in no condition to resist a coalition of three of the most powerful western states. The statesmen of Japan yielded the point and returned the territory to China in exchange for an increased indemnity of 30,000,000 taels. The Meiji Tenno, after announcing by an edict the above sad fact to his people wrote the poem with which this chapter begins, signifying that notwithstanding the difficulties put in their way by the opposing countries his people should patiently push on amid all obstacles.

Stung to activity, Japan from the following year, 1896, set on foot an elaborate naval and military expansion which enabled her during the war with Russia eight years later to put in the field a million trained men and in the spring of 1905 to meet Admiral Rodjesvensky's Baltic squadron at Tsushima with a fleet of 300,000 tons.

But we are anticipating. Shortly after Russia's warning to Japan the European Powers began to do exactly what they had warned Japan not to do. Germany started the ball rolling. On November 1, 1897, two German Catholic missionaries were killed in the province of Shantung. This act was committed by ruffians and apparently entirely against

the will of the well-disposed local authorities. Almost as if the stage was set these murders were made the pretext by Germany for the capture of Tsingtau on November 14th and the firm establishment of her control over railways, mines and the resources of a large part of this rich province of 36,000,000 people. The treaty was signed the following spring. (The treaty in full can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.)

On March 28, 1898, just twenty-two days after Germany's treaty was signed, a Russian squadron steamed into Port Arthur and China handed over to the Czar all he had robbed Japan of two years before. Imagine the feelings of the Japanese!

England joining in the diplomatic scramble, took Wei Hai Wei, the naval port to the north of Tsingtau, with a ten mile strip around the bay. Japan's emotions can easily be imagined. Wei Hai Wei had been held by her soldiers pending the payment from China of the indemnity. As her troops sailed out the British fleet sailed in. England also extracted the promise that the Chinese Government would not lease or cede to another Power any part of the vast Yangtse Valley with its population of 200,000,000 people, and strengthened her position in Hongkong by taking possession of 200 square miles on the nearby mainland. To France a similar assurance safeguarded her interests in Tonking. She also extorted on April 10th a concession for a twenty-five year lease of Kwang-Chow Bay south of Canton. Concerning the French possessions in South China

recent books on the Far East say scarcely a word. It will be well, however, to remember that France controls in Indo-China 310,000 square miles, an area one-half greater than the homeland in Europe. This territory with a population of 17,000,000 natives and 13,000 French was taken in a series of aggressive wars dating from 1787. The five provinces were finally annexed as follows: Cochin-China with the port of Saigon, from which nearly a million tons of rice are exported annually, was taken from China in 1863. The following year the protectorate over Cambodia was transferred from Siam to the French. Annam, Tongking, and the mountainous Laos were forcibly annexed, part from China and part from Siam, until by 1885 the conquest was cemented by the treaty signed with Li Hung Chang at Tientsin. Kwang-Chow Bay was finally added in 1898. (Archibald Little, *The Far East*, pp. 219–242; Indo China in Encyclopedia Britannica, and World Almanac) We Americans must also remember that it was at this time that the United States took the Philippines from Spain. This was the world Japan faced as Russia's big hulk rose on the horizon.

The Russo-Japanese War

As far back as 1891 Japan had learned with some alarm of the plan of the Czar's Government to construct a railway through Siberia to the Pacific. The plan was to occupy ten years. Russia then proceeded (1) to get permission from China to build the

road across Manchuria via Harbin to Vladivostok; (2) in 1898 to take the Liaotung Peninsula including Port Arthur and Dairen; (3) to extract from China the right to connect Harbin by rail with these southern ports; (4) to build the Port Arthur fortress and place there a garrison of 20,000 men. All these moves, especially the taking from China of the rights surrendered by Japan less than three years before, produced the wildest excitement and anger in Japan.

The Boxer uprising of June 20 to August 14, 1900, was seized upon by Russia to pour into Manchuria hordes of troops ostensibly to guard her road. Russia further strengthened her hold by getting China to agree that without Russia's consent the ports on the coast of the Liaotung peninsula should not be open to the commerce of other Powers, and that without the consent of Russia no railway or mining concession should be accorded in the same territory. (In these treaties one sees where Japan learned how to make her "Twenty-one Demands.")

In 1899 Russia cleverly extracted an agreement from London that England would not interfere with Russia's railway schemes north of the Great Wall, in return for a similar guarantee by Russia regarding England's sphere south of the Wall. Thus, in Russian ambitions in Manchuria and Korea, friction with Britain was put out of consideration.

In the same year Russia asked Seoul for the port of Masampo on the south-eastern coast of Korea. The possession of this port, within actual sight of the islands off the coast of Japan, by any country

other than Korea would menace the very existence of Japan as an independent state. A vigorous protest against this intrigue prevented Russia from carrying her point. But in these negotiations Japan saw the tracks of the Bear not only on the vast fertile plains of Manchuria, but clearly over the line in Korea.

Then Japan showed her hand. On January 30, 1902, came the astonishing announcement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. By this treaty each of the contracting parties agreed to remain neutral and to try to keep other countries neutral in case one of the parties was involved in war; and if a third party joined the enemy the other contracting party would come to the rescue. This greatly strengthened Japan. For the first time in history an eastern state had been admitted into a confederacy with a European power on terms of complete equality.

Soon after this began the direct movements of Russia which led to the attack by the Japanese fleet two years later. The Emperor of Korea had granted to a Russian lumber company the right to fell timber on the Korean side of the Yalu River. Work actually began in April, 1903. This seemingly innocent commercial proposition was being turned into license to erect fortified stations in Korean territory. Against this aggression Japan protested promptly and vigorously. She saw that if Russia was ever to be checked now was the time.

For a while it looked as if Japan without a war might turn Russia back.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance had strengthened the peace party at Petrograd so that in April, 1902, China obtained Russia's consent to withdraw her troops from Manchuria. But early in 1903 the transportation was stopped, the aggressive party in Russia again became dominant and Russian soldiers began to swarm back again.

Japan now decided to intervene. In July, 1903, she asked Russia to open negotiations on the Manchurian and Korean questions. Russia, relieved to see that notwithstanding the alliance with England Japan was acting alone, agreed to the conversations. But her attitude of aggressiveness was such that no real progress resulted and on January 13, 1904, Japan made her fourth and last statement.

Throughout the negotiations with Russia Japan had held out for the territorial integrity of China and Korea and the preservation of the open door in both countries; she also demanded that the special interests of Russia in Manchuria and Japan in Korea should be recognized. Japan was even ready to acknowledge Russia's right to control a strip of territory thirty miles wide on each side of the railway line in Manchuria as well as the town of Harbin. But Japan did insist that Russia keep out of Korea. Here was the rock on which the negotiations split. Russia demanded Manchuria for herself but would yield Japan no similar rights in Korea. Japan was now facing the same problem with Russia which she had fought out with China ten years before. She realized that the country which held the Korea,

"causeway to Asia," would point "a dagger at Japan's throat."

On February 5th Mr. Kurino's report from the Japanese Embassy at St. Petersburg made plain that diplomacy had exhausted itself. Four days later, in the darkest hours of the early morning a torpedo attack was made on the main Russian fleet at anchor outside Port Arthur harbor. Four of the most modern Russian battleships and a first-class cruiser were disabled. In the afternoon of the same day two more warships were attacked and destroyed in the harbor of Chemulpo, Korea.

On land troops were poured across the straits into Korea and Liaotung, Japan continuing a series of successful fights until she won the great fourteen days' battle of Mukden (March 1–14, 1905). This was followed on May 20th by the naval battle of Tsushima in which Admiral Togo met and totally destroyed the great Baltic Squadron. This ended Russia's power on the sea. While Russia was still formidable on land, both sides were feeling the strain in men and money. They therefore gave ear to the offer of mediation made by President Roosevelt, and after protracted negotiations concluded the treaty of Portsmouth on August 29, 1905.

At a cost of 135,000 lives and $800,000,000 (the national debt increased from Yen 561,569,000 in 1904 to Yen 2,217,722,000 in 1907) Japan had driven Russia entirely from Korea, had won from Russia all her leasehold rights on the Liaotung Peninsula, including Dairen and the fortress of Port Arthur,

and had possession of the South Manchurian Railroad, 437 miles long from Dairen to Changchun, 150 miles south of Harbin. She also received the southern half of the dreary island of Saghalin which Russia had taken from Japan 30 years before.

"To an amazing degree," says a British writer, "those men of the little islands comprehended international matters that were so new to them. To Europe the millions of soldiers the Czar was able to command were a terror from which the greatest nations had shrunk. Russia was regarded by Great Britain as the first menace to her Empire and by Germany as the menace to her existence. But the men of Japan who in their youth had worn skirts and quaint queues, who daintily fanned themselves and drank tea in thimblefuls from delicate cups had gone abroad throughout the world and had made their own estimate of other men, their laws, their religions, and their machines, and had determined that the 'Great Bear' that lay across Europe and Asia was a colossus with feet of clay."

Although Baron Komura was unable to extract an indemnity from the big Count Witte at the Portsmouth Conference, and in consequence the material gains of the war seemed relatively so small, the moral gains for Japan were inestimable. For the first time in modern history an Asiatic had successfully faced a European nation. This placed Japan among the world powers and was the beginning of that rapid modern development which gave Japan a chair at the Peace Table in Paris.

Appendix

Text of the Shantung Treaty of March 6, 1898
(From *The Nation*, Sept. 20, 1919)
English Translation

The incident at the mission-station in the prefecture of Tsaochoufu in Shantung having now been settled by amicable agreement, the Imperial Chinese Government regards the occasion as a suitable one for giving a special and concrete proof of its grateful recognition of the friendship which has hitherto at all times been manifested by Germany towards China. In consequence, the Imperial German Government and the Imperial Chinese Government, inspired by the mutual and reciprocal desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship between their two countries and farther to develop the economic and trade relations of the citizens of the two states respectively with each other, have concluded the following Special Convention:

Part I.—Leasing-Arrangements Concerning Kiaochow

Article I

His Majesty the Emperor of China, in pursuance of the object of strengthening the friendly relations between China and Germany, and increasing the military preparedness of the Chinese Empire, gives his promise—while he reserves to himself all rights

of sovereignty in a zone fifty kilometres (one hundred Chinese li) in width surrounding the line of high-water mark of Kiaochow Bay—to permit within this zone the free passage of German troops at all times, and also to make no decree concerning measures of policy or administration affecting this zone without the previous assent of the German Government; and especially not to interpose any hindrance to any regulation of the water-courses which at any time may become necessary. His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby reserves to himself the right, in friendly understanding with the German Government, to station troops in the zone above mentioned, and also to decree other military administrative measures.

Article II

With the object of fulfilling the justifiable wish of the German Emperor, that Germany, like other Powers, may have a place on the Chinese coast under its own jurisdiction, for the repair and fitting out of its ships, for the storing of materials and supplies for the same, and also for the establishment of other appliances connected therewith, His Majesty the Emperor of China concedes to Germany, by way of lease, provisionally for ninety-nine years, both sides of the entrance to Kiaochow Bay. Germany undertakes to carry through to completion, upon the territory conceded to it, the fortifications for the protection of the buildings and establishments and for the defence of the entrance of the harbor.

Article III

In order to prevent any possibility of conflicts arising, the Imperial Chinese Government will not, during the term of the lease, exercise rights of sovereignty, but concedes the exercise of the same to Germany, over the following explicitly defined territory:

1. On the northerly side of the entrance of the bay: The tongue of land bounded on its northeasterly side by a line drawn from the northeasterly corner of Potato Island to Loshan Harbor.

2. On the southerly side of the entrance of the bay: The tongue of land bounded on its southwesterly side by a line drawn from the southwesterly point of the inlet situated southwestward of Chiposan Island in a straight line to Tolosan Island.

3. The Chiposan Islands and Potato Island.

4. The whole expanse of water of the bay up to the highest water-mark as it is at this time.

5. All the islands which front upon Kiaochow Bay, and which require to be taken into consideration for the defence of the bay from the side towards the sea, namely, for example, Tolosan, Tschalientau, etc.

The high contracting parties bind themselves to have planned out and established an exact fixation of the boundaries of this territory leased to Germany

and also of the fifty-kilometre zone around the bay; this to be done by commissioners appointed by both parties respectively and in a manner adapted to the local circumstances.

Chinese war-ships and merchant-ships shall participate in all privileges in Kiaochow Bay on the same basis with the other nations which are on friendly terms with Germany, and the entrance and departure, as well as the sojourn of Chinese ships in the bay, shall be subjected to no other limitations than those which the Imperial German Government, by authority of the rights of sovereignty over the whole extent of the bay ancillary to its landrights and hereby conceded to it, may, at any time, by public decree, declare to be prohibitions applicable to the ships of other nations.

Article IV

Germany obligates itself to erect the necessary guides and signals for navigation on the islands and shoals in front of the entrance to the bay.

No imports shall be collected from Chinese war-ships or merchant-ships in Kiaochow Bay except those to which other ships are subjected, for the purpose of the upkeep of the necessary harbor and wharf establishments.

Article V

In case Germany should hereafter at any time express the wish to give back Kiaochow Bay to China

before the expiration of the term of the lease, China obligates itself to make good the expenditures which Germany shall have made in Kiaochow, and to concede to Germany a better place to be under Germany's own jurisdiction.

Germany obligates itself never to give any kind of leasehold right to any other power.

The Chinese people residing in the leased territory, assuming that they demean themselves in conformity with the laws and the public order, shall participate at all times in the protection of the German Government. So far as their lands are not included in plans for public improvements, they shall be at liberty to remain upon them.

If parcels of real estate owned by Chinese shall be included in plans for public improvements, the owner shall be indemnified for them.

As respects the reorganization of the Chinese customs stations which, as formerly situated, were outside the leased territory of Germany, but within the community-zone of fifty kilometres, the Imperial German Government intends to enter into an amicable understanding with the Chinese Government in regard to the determinate regulation of the customs boundary and the collection of customs, in a manner which will protect all the interests of China; and it binds itself to enter into further negotiations on this subject.

Part II.—Railroad and Mining Concessions

Article I

The Imperial Chinese Government grants to Germany the concession for the following lines of railroad in the Province of Shantung:

1. From Kiaochow by way of Weihsien, Chingchou, Poshan, Tzechuan, and Tsouping to Tsinanfu and from thence in a straight line to the boundary of Shantung;

2. From Kiaochow to Ichoufu and from thence onwards through Laiwuhsien to Tsinanfu.

It is understood that the building of the section from Tsinanfu to the boundary of Shantung shall not be entered upon until after the completion of the road to Tsinanfu, in order that an opportunity may be given for considering the connection of this line with the line to be built by China itself. The special agreement to be made after consultation, in regard to the details of all the undertakings, shall determine the route for this last section.

Article II

For the building of the above-named lines of railroad, one or more German-Chinese railroad companies shall be formed. German and Chinese merchants shall be at liberty to contribute capital therefor, and on both sides there shall be named trustworthy officials to supervise these undertakings.

Article III

For the regulation of the details a special agreement will be drawn up by the high contracting parties. China and Germany will regulate the matter for themselves: nevertheless the Chinese Government hereby obligates itself to the German-Chinese railroad companies which are to build the railroads, to concede fair terms for the building and operation of the designated railroads, so that in all economic questions they shall not be placed in a worse position than other Chinese-European companies elsewhere in the Chinese Empire. This provision has reference only to economic matters. No part whatsoever of the Province of Shantung can be annexed or occupied by the building of the railroad lines.

Article IV

Along the railroads above named within a space of thirty li from the lines, especially in Poshan and Weihsien on the Kiaochow-Tsinanfu line, and also in Ichoufu, and Laiwuhsien on the Kiaochow-Ichoufu-Tsinanfu line, it shall be permissible for German contractors to work the coal-beds, and carry on other undertakings, and also to carry into execution the plans for necessary public works. As respects these undertakings German and Chinese merchants shall be at liberty to associate themselves in the furnishing of the capital. As in the case of the railroad concessions, so also as respects the working of mines, appropriate special arrangements will

be agreed upon after mutual consultation. The Chinese Government hereby promises to concede to the German merchants and engineers fair terms in all respects, in harmony with the arrangements above mentioned undertaken by it in reference to railroads, so that the German contractors shall not be placed in a worse position than other Chinese-European companies elsewhere in the Chinese Empire. Moreover, this provision has reference only to economic matters, and has no other meaning.

Part III.—Priority Rights in the Province of Shantung

The Imperial Chinese Government obligates itself, in all cases in which for any purposes whatsoever within the Province of Shantung the asking of foreign aid in persons, capital or material shall be under consideration, to tender the public works and the supplying of materials to which the plans relate, for a first bid, to German industrial-development-engineers and material-supply-merchants who are engaged in similar undertakings.

In case the German industrial-development-engineers and material-supply-merchants are not inclined to undertake the carrying out of such works or the supplying of the materials, China shall be at liberty to proceed in any other manner at its pleasure.

The foregoing arrangement shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of the two States which are the makers

of this agreement, and the instruments of ratification shall be so exchanged that upon the receipt in Berlin of the instrument of ratification on the part of China, the instrument of ratification on the part of Germany shall be handed to the Chinese Minister in Berlin.

The foregoing agreement is drawn up in four originals—two German and two Chinese: and on the sixth of March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, equivalent to the fourteenth day of the second moon in the twenty-fourth year of Kuang-hsu, it was signed by the representatives of the two States which are the makers of the agreement.

The Imperial German Minister,
(Signed) Baron von Heyking

The Imperial Chinese Chief Secretary,
Minister of the Tsungli-Yamen, etc., etc.,
(Signed) Li Hung-Chang

The Imperial Chinese Chief Secretary,
Member of the Council of State,
Minister of the Tsungli-Yamen,
etc., etc.,
(Signed) Weng T'ung-Ho

Chapter V

BLUNDERS

"The Japanese nation is now in a state of isolation."—*Yukio Ozaki, former Minister of Justice* (Quoted in *Millard's Review*, March 29, 1919)

Up to the end of the Russo-Japanese War I fail to find any act in Japan's foreign diplomacy which in the light of diplomatic customs current at the time can be severely criticised. Considering the example set in the Far East by Russia, Germany, France, and England, Japan had followed the only course of action which could save her from eternal impotence. A frank student can entertain only the highest admiration for her statesmen and warriors who led her from the hermit nation of 1863 to the world power of 1905. The next ten years are more difficult to interpret. But in 1915 began that series of undoubted diplomatic blunders which have turned such a large part of the world against the Sunrise Kingdom.

While the writer recognizes that other countries including his own have made egregious errors in international dealings, while no American or Briton can take a self-righteous attitude towards Japan, it will clarify our efforts to interpret Japan to the Western World and to herself if we frankly face the

recent diplomatic errors which have lost her many of her former friends and increased the vehemence of her enemies.

Following the victory over Russia in 1904–5, Japan spent the next ten years consolidating her new position. Having fought two great wars to keep other nations from encroaching on Korea, Japan took measures to see that the problem should never arise again. Thirteen days after the declaration of war against Russia, Japan signed a protocol with the Emperor of Korea, guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire, the safety and repose of the Imperial House, and agreeing that Korea should accept Japan's advice regarding improvements in administration. Whether Japan's mistakes began here is a debatable question. Some writers see her iron hand in the convention of November, 1905, in which Korea was compelled to turn over to Japan the direction of her external affairs, and in the annexation of 1910. But considering the character of Korea's ruling house, the annexation, it seems to me, was inevitable. From years before the China War Japanese statesmen had seen that Korea must at least be preserved as an independent buffer state. And when in 1907, notwithstanding the agreement to leave foreign affairs to Japan, the Emperor secretly sent his representatives to the Hague Conference, Japan's response was sterner control and annexation three years later. Critics of Japan should remember that the visitors to the Hague won no hearing and the annexation

called forth no protest by any nation. Before censuring Japan for this act we must first rebuke other governments for their failure to recognise Korea's rights at the Hague and to register their disapproval of the annexation.

The use of force, however, did later run its course. To quote a newspaper writer, "In the early years of the European war, before a determination to end war and establish a league of nations had become a moral purpose of the struggle, Japan like some other nations, regarded the conflict as an opportunity for extending her power and seizing territory and concessions that would become valuable to her. There was nothing to stay Japan: the Great Powers of Europe were all involved in war, and the United States was regarded as determined to follow a policy of non-interference in European or Asiatic affairs. To Count Okuma's government, then in power, the situation appeared 'the opportunity of a thousand years'."

Within a week after Great Britain's declaration of war an ultimatum was sent to Germany, and on November seventh General Kamio received the capitulation of the German garrison at Tsingtau. Since that day every effort has been made to strengthen her interests in the Shantung hinterland. Like a weather vane the Japanese Government, responsive to every international breeze, has been vacillating between promises to return to China the captured possession, and the gnawing desire to retain her hold on the mainland. Here was the first

mistake. (Statements to this effect by Japanese public men can be found in the Appendix to Chapter IX.)

In January, 1915, followed the "Twenty-one Demands," the second and greatest blunder ever made by the Japanese Government. These demands, if all had been agreed upon and adhered to, would have practically excluded foreign capital other than Japanese from Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, districts immensely wealthy in natural resources; guaranteed to Japan all and more than Germany possessed in Shantung; given Japan other numerous and invaluable mining rights; kept other Powers out of certain specified parts of China, and given Japan the right to locate her police and allocate advisers in such a way as to endanger China's future independent activities. For four months China fought off Japan, until no help arriving she succumbed to the ultimatum. On May 9th, after Japan had consented to leave the obnoxious "Fifth Group" as "Notes to be Exchanged," the agreement was signed. (The original demands in full, and the final agreement can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.)

Two days later, however, the Government of the United States, with dignity but with evident purpose, stepped into the arena and sent the following identical note to the two governments. The note to Japan reads as follows:

"In view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of Japan and the Govern-

ment of China and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honor to notify the Government of the Japanese Empire that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into or which may be entered into between the Governments of Japan and China impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the International policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door policy."

Blinded by ambition and not heeding America's warning, Japan encouraged her nationals to travel over China, and taking advantage of the confused condition incident to revolution and of the cupidity of venal Chinese government officials, to take mortgages and buy rights until Japan in 1918 alone is reported to have made twenty-nine loans amounting to Yen 246,000,000. (B. L. Putnam Weale: *The Truth about China and Japan*, p. 178) Millard gives a list which makes the total from August, 1914, to the end of 1918 Yen 391,430,000. (Thomas F. Millard: *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, p. 192)

In the summer of 1918 came the third blunder, the Siberian expedition, described in a previous chapter. Losing a splendid opportunity of leadership and cooperation, the Government, seemingly expecting the war to continue one or two years more, adopted in Siberia a policy exactly like that toward China. Japan took advantage of the preoccupation of Europe

and the confusion in Russia to extend her interests on the northern mainland. The sending of ten times the troops originally announced, the occupation of the trade routes and the frantic efforts to get control of the Chinese-Eastern Railroad are all evidences of a policy of aggression by military force. With the signing of the armistice on November 11th a real change came. The sudden defeat of Prussianism in Europe dealt a great blow to Militarism in Japan. This blow, had united counsel prevailed in the West, might have been final. But Rome was not built in a day. Neither can the 15,000 splendid army officers trained for decades in the French and German schools of military efficiency, the brightest and keenest single group of men in Japan, be expected in the light of present world conditions, to change their thinking at once. *The China Press* of Shanghai summarizes the editor's impression of the recent course of diplomacy:

"Since August, 1914, the issue has been gathering. From the serving of Japan's ultimatum on Germany its development has been in a thoroughly ruthlessly logical sequence of events. The taking of Tsingtau, the widening of that wedge until it included a large part of Shantung, the sinister Twenty-one Demands, the Japanese contribution to the undoing of Yuan Shih-K'ai, the steady encroachments in Manchuria, the secret Russo-Japanese treaty, the blocking of China's entrance into the war except under the aegis of Tokyo, the underwriting of the corrupt militaristic party in the North, the series of nefarious loans that

turned over the resources of an Eldorado for a song, the setting up of the civil administration in Shantung, the Arms Alliance of 1918 and all the other secret agreements, the Lansing-Ishii paramount interest agreement—until now we have the naked question, 'Is China a Japanese colony?'" (*Japan Advertiser*, Feb. 13, 1919)

The demand at Paris for the German rights in Shantung was the fourth blunder. At the Peace Conference Japan missed a golden opportunity to make what the French call "a moral gesture." Had the Japanese delegates been instructed to ask for nothing but an opportunity to serve; had they said, "From this War we have suffered little and gained much. We come here to offer our services in the reconstruction of the Far East. Tell us what to do"—had Japan only taken this attitude sincerely, she would have risen to a place of peerless leadership in the Orient. Instead of this her delegates feverishly insisted that all the German concessions in Shantung should be turned over to her, and that she should deal directly with China regarding their disposal. This decision, which President Wilson stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was a disappointment to him and "the best that could be got in view of the engagements (secret agreements with Japan) of Great Britain and France" (daily papers, Aug. 20, 1919), was forced upon the Paris Conference by that spirit of aggression of which we speak.

Korea is the fifth blunder. The ten years' rule of a mild people by the sword—even teachers in the

schools until recently wearing the emblem of force—culminated in the independence demonstrations of March and April, 1919, and the cruel repressive measures.

All of the above is partly explained by the fact that there have been two political forces in Japan, one emanating from the Foreign Office and the other from the General Staff. One proposes to "develop the growing friendship between Japan and China" (opening sentence of the "Twenty-one Demands") while the other proceeds to force concessions backed up by a standing army of over 200,000 highly efficient soldiers and a fleet of 650,000 tons. One agrees to America's proposal to send 7,000 troops to Vladivostok, while the other pours in 50,000 more through Korea and Manchuria. One wishes "to preserve the peace of the Orient," while the other insists on repeating in Shantung the 1897 mistake of Germany which did more than any recent act to disturb the peace of the East. His Majesty the Emperor in the Rescript of August 20, 1919, aims "to promote the welfare of Korea, to extend to the native population impartial treatment that they may lead their lives in peace and contentment," while the gendarmes and soldiers, according to Reverend Ishizaka, a Japanese pastor who visited Korea, are guilty "of barbarous cruelties everywhere." One of the "Two Streams" functions in foreign capitals through its accredited ministers and ambassadors while the other carries on through its military attaches, who are financed by the General Staff, and

neither act under the orders of the local legation nor report to it. (For a further account of this "Dual Government" see Chapter VI, Appendix B.)

These "Two Japans" may be a survival of those many centuries in which the Emperor, the legal and titular sovereign, remained in the seclusion of his Kyoto palace while the Shogun and the military nobility governed the country. In our condemnation of this military party which, slow to comprehend the world movement, has clearly for five years or more been misleading Japan, we must not be blind to their great achievements in the past. Bushido (the Way of the Knight) and patriotism led Japan in six decades from a hermit country of little-known rocky islands to a seat with the "Big Five" in the Parliament of the World. Nevertheless by working the Samurai spirit overtime, Japan has been swept into Militarism and now stands without an intimate friend in the world.

Every virtue if overworked leads to a vice. Temperance may lead to effeminacy, frugality to stinginess, self-control to pride, strength to aggressiveness, virility to oppression, and even the beautiful passion of love if unrestrained leads to prostitution and loathsome disease. Bushido, one of the finest contributions of old Japan to the western world, must bear much of the odium of Japan's recent errors. Swept out into the world where religion, democracy, and open-hearted friendship, as well as brain power and military force, are factors in the international game, Japan's leaders by an undue and continued emphasis

on the modern equivalents of Bushido, science and gunpowder, have brought the country to a position where she will be obliged to draw back her forces, re-organize her plans and start on a new career of progress, substituting for guns the forces of the spirit and the heart. If Japan does not make this shift with some promptness she may some day be driven back to her islands of volcanoes and sand. If with her usual insight she will read the meaning of the gory trenches of Belgium and France, the conference tables of Paris and the restless dissatisfaction with military autocracy the world over, she will adopt the diplomacy of friendship, no longer find herself isolated, and soon discover in the plains, forests and mines of Asia and the markets of the world opportunities for a great expansion which defies the imagination. Such is my confidence in the character and ability of the Japanese.

Appendix to Chapter V

The Twenty-one Demands

Part I

Japan's Demands on China

The Original Twenty-one Demands, as presented January 18, 1915

I

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia and further strengthening the

friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The Chinese government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese government may hereafter agree with the German government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests, and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the province of Shantung.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese government engages that within the province of Shantung, and along its coast, no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE III. The Chinese government consents to Japan's building a railway from Chefoo or Lungkou to join the Kiaochow-Tsinanfu Railway.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by herself as soon as possible certain important cities and towns in the province of Shantung as commercial ports. What places shall be opened are to be jointly decided upon in a separate agreement.

II

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, since the Chinese government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the term of lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to the period of ninety-nine years.

ARTICLE II. Japanese subjects in south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ARTICLE III. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia and to engage in business and in manufacture of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of opening the mines in south Manchuria and eastern Mongolia. As regards what mines are to be opened, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ARTICLE V. The Chinese government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases mentioned herein below the Japanese government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third power for the purpose of building a railway in south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be made with a third power pledging the local taxes of south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia as security.

ARTICLE VI. The Chinese government agrees that if the Chinese government employs political, financial, or military advisers or instructors in south Manchuria or eastern Mongolia, the Japanese government shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE VII. The Chinese government agrees that the control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese government for a term of ninety-nine years dating from the signing of this agreement.

III

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the Hanyehping Company have close relations with each other at present, and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two contracting parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Hanyehping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations, and they further agree that, without the previous consent of Japan, China shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said company nor cause the said company to dispose freely of the same.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the Hanyehping Company shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said company, to be worked by other persons outside of the said company;

and further agrees that if it is desired to carry out any undertaking, which, it is apprehended, may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said company, the consent of the said company shall first be obtained.

IV

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China, agree to the following special article:

The Chinese government engages not to cede or lease to a third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China.

V

Article I. The Chinese central government shall employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial, and military affairs.

Article II. Japanese hospitals, churches, and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

Article III. Inasmuch as the Japanese government and the Chinese government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese, or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help

to plan for the improvement of the Chinese police service.

Article IV. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more of what is needed by the Chinese Government), or that there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

Article V. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another between Nanchang and Chaochou.

Article VI. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways, and construct harbor-works (including dockyards) in the province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

Article VII. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

Part II

The Demands in Revised Form as Presented April 26, 1915

Group I

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in eastern Asia and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing

between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The Chinese government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese government may hereafter agree with the German government, relating to the disposition of all rights, interests, and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the province of Shantung.

ARTICLE II. (Changed into an exchange of notes.) The Chinese government declares that within the province of Shantung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to any power under any pretext.

ARTICLE III. The Chinese government consents that as regards the railway to be built by China herself from Chefoo or Lungkou, to connect with the Kiaochau-Tsinanfu Railway, if Germany is willing to abandon the privilege of financing the Chefoo-Weihsien line, China will approach Japanese capitalists to negotiate for a loan.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese government engages in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners to open by China herself as soon as possible certain suitable places in the province of Shantung as commercial ports.

(Supplementary exchange of notes.)

The places which ought to be opened are to be chosen, and the regulations are to be drafted, by the Chinese government, but the Japanese Minister must be consulted before making a decision.

Group II

The Japanese government and the Chinese government, with a view to developing their economic relations in south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two contracting powers mutually agree that the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the term of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to ninety-nine years.

(Supplementary exchange of notes.)

The term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny shall expire in the eighty-sixth year of the Republic, or 1997. The date for restoring the South Manchurian Railway to China shall fall due in the ninety-first year of the Republic, or 2002.

Article XII in the original South Manchurian Railway Agreement, that it may be redeemed by China thirty-six years after the traffic is opened, is hereby canceled. The term of the Antung-Mukden Railway shall expire in the ninety-sixth year of the Republic, or 2007.

ARTICLE II. Japanese subjects in south Manchuria may lease or purchase the necessary land for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for prosecuting agricultural enterprises.

ARTICLE III. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in south Manchuria and to engage in business and manufacture of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE IIIa. The Japanese subjects referred to in the preceding two articles, besides being required to register with the local authorities passports, which they must procure under the existing regulations, shall also submit to police laws and ordinances and tax regulations which are approved by the Japanese consul. Civil and Criminal cases in which the defendants are Japanese shall be tried and adjudicated by the Japanese consul; those in which the defendants are Chinese shall be tried and adjudicated by Chinese authorities. In either case an officer can be deputed to the court to attend the proceedings. But mixed civil cases between Chinese and Japanese relating to land shall be tried and adjudicated by delegates of both nations conjointly, in accordance with Chinese law and local usage. When the judicial system in the said region is completely reformed, all civil and criminal cases concerning Japanese subjects shall be tried entirely by Chinese law-courts.

ARTICLE IV. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese government agrees that Japanese subjects shall be permitted forthwith to investigate, select, and then prospect for and open mines at the following places in south Manchuria, apart from those mining areas in which mines are being prospected for or worked; until the mining ordinance is definitely settled, methods at present in force shall be followed:

PROVINCE OF FENG-TIEN

Locality	*District*	*Mineral*
Niu Hsin T'ai	Pen-hsi	Coal
Tien Shih Fu Kou	Pen-hsi	"
Sha Sung Kang	Hai-lung	"
T'ieh Ch'ang	T'ung-hua	"
Nuan Ti T'ang	Chin	"
An Shan Chan region	From Liao-yang to Pen-hsi	Iron

PROVINCE OF KIRIN (Southern Portion)

Locality	*District*	*Mineral*
Sha Sung Kang	Ho-lung	Coal and Iron
Kang Yao	Chi-lin (Kirin)	Coal
Chia Pi'i Kou	Hua-tien	Gold

ARTICLE V. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese government declares that China will hereafter provide funds for building railways in south Manchuria; if foreign capital is required the Chinese government agrees to negotiate for a loan with Japanese capitalists first.

ARTICLE Va. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese government agrees that hereafter, when a foreign loan is to be made on the security of the taxes of south Manchuria (not including customs and salt revenue on the security of which loans have already been made by the Central government), it will negotiate for the loan with Japanese capitalists first.

ARTICLE VI. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese government declares that hereafter

if foreign advisers or instructors on political, financial, military, or police matters are to be employed in south Manchuria, Japanese will be employed first.

ARTICLE VII. The Chinese government agrees speedily to make a fundamental revision of the Kirin-Changchun Railway Loan Agreement, taking as a standard the provisions in railway loan agreements made heretofore between China and foreign financiers. If, in future, more advantageous terms than those in existing railway loan agreements are granted to foreign financiers, in connection with railway loans, the above agreement shall again be revised in accordance with Japan's wishes.

Chinese Counter-proposal to Article VII

All existing treaties between China and Japan relating to Manchuria shall, except where otherwise provided for by this convention, remain in force.

Matters Relating to Eastern Inner Mongolia

1. The Chinese government agrees that hereafter when a foreign loan is to be made on the security of the taxes of eastern inner Mongolia, China must negotiate with the Japanese government first.

2. The Chinese government agrees that China will herself provide funds for building the railways in eastern inner Mongolia; if foreign capital is required, she must negotiate with the Japanese government first.

3. The Chinese government agrees, in the interest

of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by China herself, as soon as possible, certain places suitable in eastern inner Mongolia as commercial ports. The places which ought to be opened are to be chosen, and the regulations are to be drafted, by the Chinese government, but the Japanese Minister must be consulted before making a decision.

4. In the event of Japanese and Chinese desiring jointly to undertake agricultural enterprises and industries incidental thereto, the Chinese government shall give its permission.

Group III

The relations between Japan and the Hanyehping Company being very intimate, if the interested party of the said company comes to an agreement with the Japanese capitalists for coöperation, the Chinese government shall forthwith give its consent thereto. The Chinese government further agrees that, without the consent of the Japanese capitalists, China will not convert the company into a state enterprise, nor confiscate it, nor cause it to borrow and use foreign capital other than Japanese.

Article IV

China to give a pronouncement by herself in accordance with the following principle:

No bay, harbor, or island along the coast of China may be ceded or leased to any power.

Notes to be Exchanged

A

As regards the right of financing a railway from Wuchang to connect with the Kiukiang-Nanchang line, the Nanchang-Hangchow Railway, and the Nanchang-Chaochow Railway, if it is clearly ascertained that other powers have no objection, China shall grant the said right to Japan.

B

As regards the right of financing a railway from Wuchang to connect with the Kiukiang-Nanchang Railway, a railway from Nanchang to Hangchow, and another from Nanchang to Chaochow, the Chinese government shall not grant the said right to any foreign power before Japan comes to an understanding with the other power which is heretofore interested therein.

The Chinese government agrees that no nation whatever is to be permitted to construct, on the coast of Fukien Province, a dockyard, a coaling-station for military use, or a naval base; nor to be authorized to set up any other military establishment. The Chinese government further agrees not to use foreign capital for setting up the above-mentioned construction or establishment.

Mr. Lu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated as follows:

1. The Chinese government shall, whenever in

future it considers this step necessary, engage numerous Japanese advisers.

2. Whenever in future Japanese subjects desire to lease or purchase land in the interior of China for establishing schools or hospitals the Chinese government shall forthwith give its consent thereto.

3. When a suitable opportunity arises in future the Chinese government will send military officers to Japan to negotiate with Japanese military authorities the matter of purchasing arms or that of establishing a joint arsenal.

Mr. Hioki, the Japanese Minister, stated as follows:

As relates to the question of the right of missionary propaganda, the same shall be taken up again for negotiation in future.

Chapter VI

SIGNS OF THE NEW JAPAN

"The War has brought about the dawn of a new era in the world."—*Premier Hara*

"Mankind is looking now for freedom of life."—*President Wilson*

For sixty-five years Japan has been playing the game of diplomacy as taught by western nations. She has been an apt pupil and has often excelled her teachers. Now a growing group of statesmen is eagerly watching to see if the West is really sincere in its desire to establish democracy, reduce armaments, scrap force as the only international arbiter, and adopt the better rule of justice, humanity and friendship. There are abundant signs that when persuaded that it is real, Japan is ready to join the new world movement.

A. Growth of Democracy

1. The Hara Cabinet

In August, 1918, one hundred and eighty newspaper men met at a hotel in Osaka under the leadership of Mr. Ryuhei Murayama the veteran editor of the *Asahi* and pledged themselves to work for the overthrow of the Terauchi Cabinet. Their chief grudge against General Terauchi was for his unblush-

ing bureaucracy. Those in power were ruling the Empire without regard to the will of the people. The fight was against neither veniality nor misgovernment. It was against a theory of government; it was for democracy. Other meetings of representatives of the press were held in Tokyo and lesser cities and the attack began. For two months it kept up morning and evening all over the Empire until on September 21st, wearied with the showers of abuse, the Terauchi Cabinet succumbed. Never again, say my Japanese friends, shall we have a cabinet which disclaims responsibility to the people. Nor will cabinet ministers cloak their misdeeds with the excuse that they are acting in the name of His Majesty the Emperor and hence are beyond the pale of criticism.

Mr. Hara has for several years been the leader of the Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government party) and he and his associates consider themselves the representatives of this party which has now the majority in the Diet and which is responsible to the people.

One of the first acts of the new government was the change of policy in Siberia. The old cabinet was responsible for the presence of 70,000 soldiers in North Manchuria and Siberia, divided into three separate armies. Within two months after Mr. Hara came into office, the three armies were united into one, more than half the troops were withdrawn, special instructions were issued counseling soldiers to treat foreigners and Russians with courtesy, and General Takeyanagi made a special visit to all the

Siberian headquarters to see that the new orders were effective. This General when in Vladivostok is reported to have said that the old conflict between the General Staff and the Foreign Office had ended forever. Had the League of Nations been promptly established the reaction which has been mentioned in Chapter III would not have taken place.

2. Extension of the Franchise

The Constitution promised in 1868 and promulgated in 1889 created a representative Diet which was convened the following year. In 1900 the members were increased from 300 to 381, and the number of possible voters was trebled (from 500,000 to 1,460,000). Again in March, 1919, the tax qualification was reduced from Yen 10 to Yen 3. Any man over twenty-five years of age with an annual income of Yen 500 or who pays a property tax of three yen may vote. Thus in twenty years the franchise holders have increased from 500,000 to nearly 3,000,000.

But the country is not satisfied. Letters from friends in Japan written early in 1920 describe the popular demands:

"Our Socialists and Laborers generally desire universal male suffrage. They are clamoring wildly for the movement."

"Circumstances in this country are greatly altered, many problems are keenly discussed. Among them Universal Male Suffrage and organization of Labor Unions are in the lead."

". . . In the meantime Ozaki shouts for universal suffrage and the Young Men's Reconstruction Society of Tokyo conducts a big parade, while the mob that tries to get into the YMCA auditorium to hear the speeches nearly wrecks the building. These are stirring times with prospects of more stirring ones ahead."

The Labor Party, the Reconstruction Union, and many of the leading newspapers were backing the cause. One of the conservative journals in its ten thousandth issue urged "universal suffrage as a preparation for a general mobilization of the nation on the one hand and a safety-valve for dangerous thought on the other, and also for a political education and training of the nation, for one can learn how to swim only in water."

Even Prince Yamagata, "the bulwark of Japanese conservatism," according to the Hochi, approves of universal suffrage as the ideal of representative government, but he wants it to be brought about in the due course of things. (*Literary Digest*, Feb. 28, 1920)

3. Freedom of Speech and of the Press

After the entry of the Hara Cabinet the bars of free speech were suddenly let down. The country was flooded with public discussions of democracy, the rights of labor, social and political reform and internationalism. Speakers mounting the platform in workingmen's clothes denounced social and industrial conditions and called for new legislation. Such unrestricted talk was a new thing in Japan.

In the Imperial University a group of students is publishing a journal called *Democracy*. Some of the Tokyo professors are the most active members of a society called "The Dawn" which in magazines and by public lectures is openly carrying on propaganda for democratic ideas. Monthlies with titles like "Reconstruction" or "The New Society" are born almost every month. "Kaizo" (reconstruction) is the popular word. At the Imperial University YMCA club house, there is held a "University Evening" or forum attended by 200 students and professors. Fifty frequently remain to discuss with the speaker modern democratic ideas.

4. Simplifying Imperial Travel

The writer remembers when His Majesty, the Emperor, visited Osaka seventeen years ago some near-sighted old people, who were patiently sitting by the roadside hoping to glimpse their beloved Ruler, were ordered by an officious policeman to show their respect by removing their spectacles. Not infrequently pedestrians even in rainy weather are required to lower umbrellas while members of the Imperial Family pass. Streets were strewn with fresh sand and all traffic stopped when the Imperial Party drove through. Along the railroad pupils of near-by schools were marched out and lined along the fence. Notice what a change!

"The Department of the Imperial Household has issued instructions to the Railway Bureau and other Government offices relating to journeys by members

of the Imperial Family, the principal points of which are as follows: (1) All shall be as usual with officials and ordinary passengers at railway stations unless special instructions are given; (2) when there is no special waiting room, members of the Imperial Family may rest in the room of the station master or ordinary waiting rooms from which ordinary passengers need not be ejected; (3) the practice of making ordinary passengers wait until members of the Imperial Family get off shall be abolished; ordinary people can alight at the same time as Imperial passengers; (4) no special efforts need be made to have as large a number of people to send off or welcome Imperial passengers; (5) school masters shall not sacrifice lessons to take out children to send off or welcome members of the Imperial Family; (6) guards en route shall be as few as possible and as unobtrusive as possible; (7) traffic shall never be suspended; (8) the custom of Governors and Deputy-Governors waiting upon members of the Imperial Family while travelling through the places under the jurisdiction of those officials may be dispensed with; and (9) no special arrangements with regard to the equipment of hotels and places to be visited need be made unless special instructions are given. (Translated from the Jiji in the *Japan Advertiser*, Aug. 19, 1919)

5. The Reconstruction Alliance

Growing out of the propaganda started by Doctors Yoshino and Fukuda there was organized in September, 1919, a new liberal movement. Its promoters

are Diet members of various parties, labor leaders, free lances and newspaper writers back from Paris. Early in 1920 the Alliance "was conducting a strenuous campaign to rouse public sympathy for the cause of universal suffrage." The items in its platform are all forward-looking:

1. Realization of universal male suffrage
2. Abolition of class distinctions
3. Abolition of bureaucratic diplomacy
4. Establishment of democratic political system
5. Public recognition of labor organizations
6. Guarantee of the living of the people
7. Reform of tax system along with social policy
8. Abandonment of formal education
9. Reform of colonial administrative system
10. Purification of the Imperial Household Department
11. Reconstruction of political parties
12. Freedom of speech and press

(*Japan Advertiser*, Sept. 18, 1919)

B. Growing Power of Civilians as Opposed to Militarists

1. For the first time a civilian, Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, formerly Minister to Peking, has been appointed Governor General of the leased territory about Port Arthur and Dairen in Manchuria. Baron Hayashi was later transferred to the embassy in London, but a civilian took his place.

2. A civilian is Governor of Formosa.

3. The law has been amended so that a civilian may become Resident-General of Korea. Although Baron Saito is a retired naval officer, in disposition and intention he marks the transition period from the old military governors to the new civil era.

4. Significant is this paragraph from the address of Premier Hara at a reception to Baron Makino on his return from the Paris Conference:

"In future, international affairs are to be managed through the coöperation of the Powers. The result is that militarism has been absolutely discarded and the Powers are to work conjointly for the sake of world peace. In every country there are men who find it hard to abandon old ideas. They remain blind to the general current of the world, and strive for the acquisition of rights and interests. It should be remembered, however, that such old-school politics are no longer admissable in the present-day diplomacy. Sincerity and straightforwardness will in future be the guiding principle on which the conduct of diplomacy should be based. This will be a new phenomenon to a certain class of publicists, to whom the maintenance of international coöperation seems tantamount to national humiliation." (*Japan Advertiser*, Sept. 26, 1919)

5. Among the changes announced for Korea are: (1) The abolition of the custom of wearing swords by civil officials. (2) The end of the gendarme system. Henceforth, the police will be under the control, not of an army general, but of the provincial

civil governors. (3) From April 1, 1920, the old custom of flogging as a punishment for criminals was abolished.

6. The lure of the uniform no longer attracts the daughters of Japan. In their replies to a recent questionnaire sent to girls' colleges as to preference for husbands, seventy per cent. would marry youths in business, fifteen per cent. technical experts, fifteen per cent. other classes, almost no one desiring army or navy officers. (*Japan Review*, Oct., 1920)

7. Professor Yoshino's Address

The fact that an address like that of Professor Yoshino from which quotations are made below could have been delivered without police interference shows a great change.

"So jealous are the militarists of Japan lest any knowledge of their actions should become known, even to the representatives of the Government, that when in consultation with the Emperor, members of the War Department forbid the presence of the Civilian Court Chamberlain.

"The result is that the Cabinet and people of Japan are held responsible for things done in China, Korea, and other places of which the Government and the people have not the slightest knowledge. Because of this dual Government, Japan has been greatly misunderstood by America and other foreign nations, as the military, being the most powerful, is the Japan most known to the outside world.

"No other nation exists where the Premier has no control over the military, and where although the War and Navy Departments are ostensibly under the control of the Premier, they always act independently. In former times the one opportunity for the Premier to learn of the proceedings of the military was the little he might glean from the Court Chamberlain. About ten years ago they closed this opening by substituting a military aide-de-camp for the Court Chamberlain when a military audience was held. In this way the Premier and the people are kept in absolute ignorance of many important happenings. China has frequently made representations to the Foreign Office concerning affairs in China and found that the Foreign Office was in total ignorance of the whole matter." (*Japan Advertiser*, Aug. 9, 1919)

A few months before this address was made Professor Yoshino explained to me how since 1909 the Military and Naval members of the Cabinet were appointed directly by the Emperor and responsible to him and not to the Premier. That this system can with impunity be attacked in public points to a near change.

"All young men in the Foreign Office are opposed to it," said Dr. Yoshino, "and even army officers are joining us. I was recently asked to address a hundred army colonels, when higher officers stepped in and cancelled the meeting."

(For a more complete statement regarding this "Dual Government" see Appendix to this chapter.)

8. Newspapers are allowed to write in a similar vein:

"Under the present regulations the military and naval general staffs are responsible directly to the Emperor, and are independent of the Cabinet. Even the Prime Minister, who is to supervise the whole affairs of the state, simply receives reports from the Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy regarding military strategy and commands and has no right of veto over them. Is such a system in keeping with the new exigencies of the situation? Under such conditions how can constitutional government be administered to the full? Great Britain, the United States, and France, which believe in democracy,—in other words, which place military affairs within the jurisdiction of political administrations,—have crushed Germany and Austria which subscribe to that militaristic system of making the military authorities responsible directly to the Emperor. The tide of democracy is now flooding the whole world. If Japan continues to adhere to a mimicry of the German system, not only will she run counter to the trend of the world's progress, but she will invite the suspicions of the Powers. Such an irrational system should be speedily abolished." The *Hochi* (Quoted in *Japan Advertiser*, June 12, 1919)

Even the extraordinary turn of Siberian events in April, after the American withdrawal, was severely criticized by vernacular papers:

"The war office, in maintaining its own foreign policy, is bringing evil consequences upon the Empire." *Tokyo Asahi*

"That militarism which is usurping diplomatic and political functions is the same as that which Japan fought as humanity's common foe." *Osaka Osahi.* (Quoted in *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, April 18, 1920)

C. The Rice Riots

The rice riots, or nation-wide socialistic uprising of August 12th and 13th, 1918, were pregnant with meaning. The rioting centered in Osaka and Kobe. In Osaka Prefecture alone 230,000 people, or a tenth of the population, took part in the violent protest against the high prices. All over Japan rice stores were raided and the owners compelled to sell at the old rates or about one-half the current prices. Rice speculators had their residences broken into or burned; and in Kobe the head office, the camphor factory and other property of Suzuki & Company, one of the biggest firms in Japan and recent cornerers of the rice market, were burned to the ground. The property loss in Kobe reached well over the $500,000 mark. The military aided the police, and for a few days some of the big cities were under martial law. As a result of the demonstrations the poor began to receive special attention. All over the country new social welfare undertakings, like model tenements, lodging houses, and public markets started up; and the Government even proposed working-men's pensions. The rich poured out gifts for immediately providing cheap rice. The Emperor headed the list with a gift of $1,500,000, and wealthy families gave

$100,000 each, the gifts in Osaka reaching nearly $1,000,000. This country-wide outburst two years ago against the economic slavery of the lower classes has accelerated all movements for social betterment.

D. The Labor Movement

"Nations are meant, if they are meant for anything, to make the men and women and children in them secure and happy and prosperous." *President Wilson*

1. Labor Unions.

While still in their infancy the labor unions in Japan give signs of great future power. I will mention four:

a. The Friendly Society (Yuaikai), was organized in 1912. Starting with thirty workers under the leadership of Bunji Suzuki, a Christian bachelor of laws of the Tokyo Imperial University, it boasted by January, 1920, a membership of 40,000. Its monthly organ "Labor and Industry" (*Rodo oyobi Sangyo*) enjoys a large circulation. It is not a political body and stands for no "ism." A branch may be established wherever there are thirty or more workers who join. On its members a monthly fee of fifteen sen is levied of which five sen is kept by the local organization and ten sen is forwarded to headquarters. In this way the headquarters is assured of a monthly income of over Yen 2,500 which pays for the magazine and general expenses.

At the annual meeting of August, 1919, the commonplace platform of the society was radically amended:

(1) The name was changed from plain "Friendly Society" (Yuaikai) to the more ambitious "The Friendly Society, a General Federation of Labor in Great Japan" (Dai Nihon Rodo Sodomei Yuaikai).

(2) Like the British Labor Party it decided to include brain workers among its members.

(3) The women's section was made a separate entity.

(4) A miners' section was established.

(5) The seamen's section was placed on a separate footing.

They intend in the near future to muster 100,000 members and to present to the coming Diet a monster petition for universal male suffrage. (*Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1920)

The program of this remarkable organization is given in full in the Appendix to this chapter.

b. The Kansai Federation of Labor was organized in Kobe by Toyohiko Kagawa. Closely affiliated with Mr. Suzuki's larger society and already numbering 5,500 members, this promises to become one of the most genuine labor unions in Japan.

c. The Japan Associated Labor Union (Nihon Rodo Rengokai) was organized in the Toyko Municipal Electric Office by a workman named Kyota Arai. It numbers 2,000 members and is supported by the Home Minister.

d. The Japan Labor Union (Nihon Rodo Kumiai) has united about 1,000 workmen in thirty-five Tokyo electric and machinery factories. This society does

not ask workingmen to join except with the approval of their employers.

The above are but samples of the labor organizations springing into life.

2. Factory Laws

The factory law in force from September 1, 1916, has been cynically criticized as "solely for the benefit of the Westerner. Being tired of telling curious visiting foreigners that Japan had no labor laws, they put some on the statute-book and suspended their execution for the most part. The former fact is advertised, and the latter concealed unless the visitor is unusually inquisitive." (Quoted by John Dewey from a Japanese in *The Dial*, Oct. 18, 1919.)

But the law marked progress. While it applied only to modern power factories employing fifteen or more operatives and only to those engaged in risky or unhygienic labor, it did work some benefits. A Tokyo factory inspector claimed that by 1918 the number of children under fourteen years of age had been reduced in the Tokyo factories subject to the law from 2,000 to 1,057.

By the Law the normal working hours are fixed at twelve, with an hour off for rest. But for two years in weaving mills the limit might be extended to fourteen hours, and in the silk mills a simliar extension was granted for fifteen years. But as 53% of the 900,000 silk weavers work in groups too small to be supervised, human endurance is their only limit. There is a restriction regarding night work

(10 p. m. to 4 a. m.) for women and children, but in the cotton mills this will not be enforced until *September, 1933*. Two holidays a month are to be enforced. Certain provisions regarding maternity and accident compensation were inserted. He who breaks the law *must pay a fine not to exceed Yen 200.* Not much advance to be sure, but the law made a start. During the summer of 1919, however, in some of the big industries the workmen took matters into their own hands and actually secured an eight hour day with an increased overtime wage.

The International Labor Conference called by the League of Nations in October, 1919, at Washington, was taken most seriously by Japan. Eighty-seven delegates, assistants and newspaper men attended. Notwithstanding the backward conditions mentioned above, these men, many of them already instructed by the government, agreed to recommend the following legislation to take effect not later than July 1, 1922:

1. The law shall be applied to all factories employing ten or more workers.

2. Night work (10 p. m.–5 a. m.) shall be forbidden for women and all children under fourteen.

3. The working week shall be limited to 48 hours for underground miners and children under fifteen; 57 hours for cotton and similar mills and 60 hours for the silk factories. Not more than 100 or 150 hours overtime a year shall be allowed.

4. There shall be established a weekly rest day of 24 consecutive hours.

Thus has the clock of labor progress been set forward from 1933 to 1922.

3. Strikes

From the beginning of the War in 1914 to its close in 1918, there were, according to official reports, over 1,000 strikes in Japan. The number grew from 50 in 1914 to 64 in 1915, 108 in 1916, 398 in 1917, and the year following the number rose to 417. During these five years the strikes increased over 800 per cent. The results show that 260 cases were withdrawn, 447 were compromised; in 149 cases labor lost and in 195 the demands of labor were obtained. The largest number of strikes were for higher wages, the second group stood out for better working conditions in the shop and the third asked for fairer treatment by foremen.

At the Kawasaki Ship Building Yards in Kobe an unusual strike occurred in September, 1919, when by what the workmen call sabotage or the "go slow" method, the slacking employees in ten days forced the company to divide among them Yen 3,750,000 of its big surplus fund. This set the pace for many other strikes and a new kind of "go slow" pressure has become prevalent in Japan.

4. A Labor Song

When Mr. Suzuki, head of "The Friendly Society," visited Kobe a significant song was printed on slips of paper and sung by a procession of welcoming laborers. The translation follows:

Workers of Nippon, awake, awake!
Old things are done with and past away.
Worlds that are new are for you to make.
Strive then and fail not in this your day.

Farmers and weavers and shipwrights all,
Miners who labor beneath the soil,
You who drop sweat to get bread, we call.
Honors are now for the sons of toil.

Early to work though cold winds bite,
Tired ere homeward their way they take,
Daylight gone and the stars alight,—
So they toil for the whole world's sake.

Workers of Nippon, awake, awake!
Old things are done with and past away.
Worlds that are new are for you to make.
Strive then and fail not in this your day.
Hooray for the Yuai-kai—Hooray!

(*Japan Chronicle*, Aug. 14, 1919)

5. Labor and Capital Harmonization Society (Roshi Kyochokai)

In the summer of 1919 there was organized in Tokyo a remarkable society. Under the leadership of the Premier, the Home Minister and Baron Shibusawa, and in the presence of 200 prominent citizens, the Labor and Capital Harmonization Society came to birth. The promoters profess to be making a genuine effort to promote the mutual welfare of both labor and capital, and by forestalling ruinous conflicts to prevent economic loss. Starting with an

Imperial grant and a government subsidy, a fund of Y10,000,000 is being raised. The society proposes not to oppose trade unions, to suggest labor legislation, give advice to both employers and employed, publish a monthly bulletin, erect houses for laborers, install employment agencies, arbitrate labor disputes, provide entertainment for laborers and care for children of the working classes.

6. The New Labor Party

On December 24, 1919, there was formed in Tokyo the Japan Labor Party. Representatives of sixteen labor organizations and scores of students from several Tokyo schools were present. The planks in the party's platform include universal male suffrage, and the repudiation of capitalistic political parties. The new organization proposed to erect a labor hall in Tokyo and to publish a magazine. (*Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Jan. 1, 1920)

The democratic movement a few months ago was surely rushing forward in Japan. The greatest obstacle to its growth is, however, the seeming failure in western lands. Japanese know all too well our American municipal corruption and industrial exploitation. They have been amazed at the inaction of Congress. The failure of our boasted Democracy promptly to pass legislation on international matters and our consequent two years' delay in making peace and joining the League of Nations are seriously hindering the progressive movements mentioned above. From the conservatism and confusion of America and Europe and from the extremes of Russia, the

reactionaries bolster their opposition to anything new. When will the West bear better testimony?

Appendix to Chapter VI

A. Platforms of the Friendly Society (Yuaikai)

Old Platform:

(1) We aim at enlarging our views, developing our moral character and improving our technical skill agreeably to public ideals.
(2) We aim at improving our position by common efforts and by moderate means.
(3) We aim at attaining our object of helping each other by mutual friendship and cooperation.

New Platform adopted August, 1919:

(1) Establishment of the principle that labor is not merchandise
(2) Free and unmolested organization of labor unions
(3) Abolition of infant labor (under 14)
(4) Establishment of a minimum wage system
(5) Equal wages for males and females alike for work of the same quality
(6) One day's rest in a week
(7) An eight-hour day (48-hour week)
(8) Abolition of work at night
(9) Appointment of special inspectors over female labor
(10) Enactment of a labor insurance law

(11) Enactment of an arbitration law respecting labor disputes
(12) Arrangements for prevention of unemployment
(13) Equal treatment of native and alien labor
(14) Improvement of workers' dwellings at public expense
(15) Establishment of a labor indemnity system
(16) Improvement of subsidiary work
(17) Abolition of contract work
(18) Universal suffrage
(19) Amendment of the Peace Police Law
(20) Democratization of the educational system

(*Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1920)

B. Professor Yoshino on Japan's "Dual Government"

(Extracts from a lecture delivered to a group of foreign residents in Tokyo, reported in *The Japan Advertiser*, April 2, 1920)

"Although we oppose the militarism of the government and also the weak attitude of the people in offering opposition to what the government is doing, we have to recognize that there are historical reasons for the militarism of the government and the weakness of the people in opposing it. If we look back over the history of the past fifty years we see that there are historical reasons.

"When Japan came into contact with China, Japan was impressed by her literature and various system.

These were the things that Japan immediately began to imitate. Later, when Japan came into touch with the Western world, the thing that stood forth was militarism. The ships that came from the south were warships. The ships that came from Russia were warships. The idea that the Japanese got was that militarism was the only thing; that militarism and foreign countries were synonymous. If one reads books that were published at that time introducing the West to the Japanese, that was the point of view from which they were written and that was the impression given as a whole. The men who at that time went abroad to study, the men who are the older men in political and military life today, came back stressing the need of making Japan wealthy, of making Japan strong; not from the spiritual side, but from the material, in order that Japan might be able to withstand the pressure from the West along militaristic lines. This came to be a national idea that was pressed home upon the people by her leaders at every opportunity. Therefore we must acknowledge that there are good reasons for the stand of the government as a whole and the weakness of the people in their opposition to militarism. So it comes about that to develop a wealthy nation and a strong army becomes the highest political ideal of the time.

"The growing power of the people brought on a great question, especially among the conservatives. I think we must acknowledge that the problem that this brought to the conservatives was brought on

from pure motives; that is, the question of military defense. Even today Prince Yamagata thinks this is the biggest thing to be considered in the life of the nation as a whole. Compared with this question all other questions are small. It is because of their concern for the nation and their desire to protect the nation. If the people get into power and the people's cabinet gets power into its hands, the danger is that sufficient funds will not be provided to maintain a proper military machine. The people have always grudged money that has gone to build up a military machine and to maintain military defense. The result is that in 1909 a military ordinance was passed by His Imperial Majesty which provided that certain matters could be brought into force by direct appeal to His Majesty, the Emperor. It was not necessary to submit them to the Diet. Neither had members of the Diet a right to ask questions. The Minister of the Navy or the Minister of War could, without consulting the Premier or the other members of his cabinet, carry things over the Premier's head and bring a law into force. The reason was that as long as the cabinet was in the hands of the bureaucrats there was nothing to fear, but when the government came into the people's hands some safeguard like this was necessary.

"The outgrowth of this matter has been that certain things were taken out of the hands of the cabinet and put in the hands of the men who are in charge of military affairs. Not only that, but absolute secrecy was kept as to the working of that group who

were in charge of military functions. Under such a system no one, not even the Premier himself, knows what is going on inside. This tendency to keep military matters in one group and to keep them absolutely secret, has grown since the Okuma cabinet.

"Of course this scheme of a double government is not constitutional. It ought to be easily broken up. As a matter of fact, in the government itself, certainly in the present cabinet and among the people, the opposition to this scheme is very strong and very pronounced. But it is very difficult to be undertaken. The stronger the opposition among the people becomes, the stronger the opposition of the militarists. Their whole attitude is that whatever is best for Japan is the thing that is to be done no matter who or what is to be sacrificed. The aim is to make Japan powerful and ensure her influence as a nation. If that means that China or Korea is to be sacrificed, it is unavoidable. This policy is making itself evident in Japan, Korea, and even in Formosa. The result is that Japan has two representatives in China; the consuls representing the Foreign Office, and the men who are over there in large numbers representing the General Staff. When the consuls say turn to the right, the men representing the General Staff say turn to the left. And so the Chinese are saying, 'What is Japan doing any way, what is she up to?' Of course there has been a change somewhat for the better in Korea and also in Formosa. Inevitably great mistakes have been

made. Naturally people say, 'Why is it that the Premier cannot control the General Staff, the Minister of War, the Minister of the Navy, members of his own cabinet?'

"There are several things that ought to be mentioned here. One is that the General Staff has an abundance of money. Another is that it has a perfect machine for propaganda which is working overtime. Another matter we must recognize is that while the Japanese among themselves are careful not to torment each other, some think there is no harm in tormenting a foreign nation. Especially is that true of the old type. Another thing is that the people at large are satisfied at the progress Japan has made. They look back and see what Japan has accomplished and that makes them indifferent.

"And yet there is a growing number of young men, mostly students, who have acquired the world tendency. They are influenced by the world spirit. They are more and more taking these things to heart. If the question was put to the students as to whether or not we should withdraw from Siberia, ninety in one hundred would stand for withdrawal. If the question of giving Korea independence or complete autonomy was submitted, ninety in one hundred would say give her independence or autonomy. If it was put to the students, 'Shall we withdraw from Shantung and give it back to China?' ninety in one hundred would say, 'Yes.'

"A certain university professor says that because of these two contending forces we may in the future

look for a revolution; but I cannot agree with the professor's view for the following reason. The young men, the forward-looking men, will go on to victory in the road which they have chosen. There will be no retreat. They will go right on advancing. That is not true of the conservatives. The young men have an inner confidence that they are right. But it is different with the conservatives. They are not sure of their ground, and the whole history of Japan has been that when it came to the critical time the conservatives gave way. When they found it was inevitable they gave ground. That is what is going to take place in the future. Take for instance the matter of universal suffrage. The conservatives will fight until the thing is inevitable and then they will give in. The evolution of Japan towards democracy will be like that of England. There will be no violent overturn as in Russia. Our conservatives will gradually yield to the new impulses. But as to the outcome there is no doubt. It will take time, but the men who know that they are right and are sure of their ground are going to win out. Japan's future is bright with hope."

Chapter VII

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA

Senba inanagazu
Hito katarazu
Kinshu no shogai
Shayo ni tatsu.

(No war horse neighs, no voice is heard;
Outside the walls of Kinchow I stand in the rays of the setting sun.)

—*Poem of General Nogi*

Thus wrote the noble knight, the modest, loyal patriot, the grizzled Nogi. Bowed toward the sunset, his horse, his groom, and his two and only sons dead on the field of battle, alone he stood and rededicated himself to the terrible Port Arthur assault. After sacrificing the lives of 22,183 of his men, this wonderful warrior presented to his revered Emperor as a 1905 New Year gift the capitulation of this strongest fortress of the Far East. A few days later began the northward march of his veterans for their second great struggle around the old Manchu capital.

During the long ten days of that March bombardment when I sat in our Japanese YMCA hut at Newchwang listening to the breathless reports of the terrible conflict raging on the fifty mile front, I little realized what Mukden, up to that time the greatest battle of history, would mean to the future

of Japan. Later during April and May when we waited with intense anxiety for the slow coming of the Baltic squadron, even we who were sharing the travail could not forsee that from the blood of Mukden and the smoke of Tsushima, Japan as a world power would be born. In the summer of 1905, after peace had come, when I visited Port Arthur and went over the great dismantled Russian forts, I did not yet see how Japan was rapidly emerging from an insignificant nation to one of the world's leaders. But in the Spring of 1919 when on my way back from Siberia I revisited the old battle fields and looked down once more from 203 Meter Hill on those rapidly filling trenches where on a single slope 2,365 brave Japanese soldiers had laid down their lives, I realized that Port Arthur, the plains of Manchuria, and Tsushima straits were the turning points in the history of modern Japan. Her legions and her warships made her great. But to read into this awful life and death conflict on the shores and plains of North China a long-term plan for the subjugation of Asia is a juggling with both sense and sympathy.

Japan in Manchuria is the story of a railroad and a city. The railroad is a bit of transplanted American efficiency. The city is just Dairen, a unique combination of things European and Asiatic. After an absence of thirteen years I found it a new town. On the hill across the bridge stood, to be sure, the same red brick Russian buildings. The two cramped little rooms in the former railway offices where with

my wife and baby I lived during the return of the troops in 1906, I saw unchanged. But in the Japanese city all was new. Paved, clean, and lighted streets led in every direction. Beautiful administration buildings, banks and the handsome Yamato Hotel surrounded the park-like square. Up-to-date schools, stores, houses and factories are all there. Dairen, better than any other city of the Far East, illustrates what a modern city ought to be.

The port of Dairen has become a great commercial city. If Newcastle means coal, Dairen means beans. There are in the city fifty-seven oil pressing factories, some of which use modern machinery run by electricity, while others are old-fashioned hand-worked Chinese mills. The annual export of beans, bean oil, and bean cake, now numbers 1,300,000 tons. The oil is used by the Chinese as an illuminating lubricant and for cooking, and since 1908 has been exported to Europe and the United States for the manufacture of soap. The wharf-loading record is 17,000 tons in a single day, while 10,000 tons is an easy average. The vastness of this trade is hard to imagine until one has seen along the railway the acres of bean mountains awaiting transportation.

In 1917 the leading imports into Dairen according to the report of the American Consul were cigarettes, coffee, cotton cloth, electrical materials, flour, gunny bags, sugar, leather, and machinery. Besides bean products, the exports were kaoliang, pig iron, and wild silk. The net imports were $74,213,120, and the total exports were $64,450,954. The value of

the soya bean oil exported to America in 1917 and 1918 was $19,740,640 and $36,496,060 respectively.

To Dairen and to all Manchuria the railway is the giver of life. My chief impression from travel in China is of the flocks of laborers gathered around the transportation centers, ready like vultures to pounce on anyone who can give them work. In 1905 when I visited Tientsin, my baggage at the station was torn from me and fought over by fifty giants, hungry for a job. Fourteen years later at the same place, two score of jinrikisha men were kept at bay only by the policeman's whip. At Harbin the streets are lined with peddlars enduring the fierce cold of winter, the sun of summer and the indescribable dust of March in order to earn a few coppers. Ten men doing one man's work! He therefore who can give one more Chinese honest employment and decent pay confers a blessing on that great nation. In this sense the Japanese administration in South Manchuria is a beneficence.

The simple fact that the Chinese population of Manchuria, including a little of Eastern Mongolia, is increasing at the rate of 500,000 a year and now numbers 26,000,000 gives a hint of the railway's contribution to China's development. Some people seem to think that the Japanese are swarming into that region, but for each Japanese immigrant there are fifty Chinese. The total Japanese population in 1918 was 130,700, an increase at the rate of only 10,000 a year. The Koreans number 357,000 and even they are increasing three times as rapidly as

the Japanese. Of the Japanese, nearly all are employed on the railway, in the mines, or are tradesmen who stay near the main highway. The agricultural lands are not being taken in any large way by them.

By the Portsmouth Treaty of September 5, 1905, Japan received from Russia the lease of 1,303 square miles of hilly country in the Kwantung Peninsula, and the South Manchuria Railway as far north as Changchun. This includes seventy square miles in the railway zone about the fifty-five stations along the line. Over this zone and the leased land surrounding Port Arthur and Dairen Japan rules as absolutely as in her own island realm.

The mileage of this road, which before the war booked through connections from Asia to Europe, is as follows:

Dairen to Changchun	435.8 miles
Antung to Mukden	170.2 "
Fushun (coal mine branch)	30.8 "
Port Arthur Branch	31.6 "
Newchwang Branch	13.9 "
Changchun Kirin Branch	79. "
The Western Branch	54. "
Other Branches	13.3 "
Total	828.6 miles

(Taken from a publication of the South Manchuria Railway Company.) When to this is added the projected line from Kirin to the coast, some proposed

branches west of Changchun and the 147 miles of the Russian line from Changchun to Harbin (which seems almost certain to become Japanese), the total will be well over 1,000 miles. As this road traverses the central and most fertile areas of a province of 363,610 square miles, capable of supporting a population of 100,000,000, its value to Japan is evident.

The rapid increase in the passenger and freight traffic explains the mutual benefit the road is giving to both China and Japan. The number of passengers carried in 1917, was 5,844,929, almost exactly four times the passengers in 1907. The freight was 7,274,177 tons, or exactly five times that of ten years ago. Two million tons of beans are produced by the Chinese farmers, and one and one-half million tons of these are railroaded to the sea.

The contrast between the efficiency and the modern American style equipment of this road and the neighboring railways in China and Russia is unbelievable. At the Harbin station one April evening I saw and heard three thousand Chinese coolies yelling and fighting for standing or crouching room on a train of Russian freight cars. Twenty-five hundred jammed into the twenty-five little boxes. South of Changchun a few days later I saw similar travelers sitting in the Japanese day coaches as comfortably as we travel between New York and Philadelphia. Later, on the Chinese road, the fourth class people, again like cattle, were riding in the freight vans.

The profits from this railway, including mining, shipping and other undertakings, have increased in

ten years since 1907 from Yen 2,000,000 to Yen 15,000,000. The receipts from the five hotels run by the railway at Dairen, Port Arthur, and Mukden, the seaport resort at Hoshigura and at Changchun were in 1917 Yen 475,000 and they were run at a profit of Yen 44,000.

At Shahokou in the suburbs of Dairen, at the great railway shops which are the largest in the Far East, I found 2600 Japanese and 2800 Chinese working. I was told that it is now very difficult to get sufficient Chinese laborers. The demand for farmers and miners in Manchuria, the development of the railway and mines in Shantung and the shipping of so many laborers to Europe, has drained the supply so that for once in North China laborers are scarce.

A visit to the Dairen Experiment Station, where scientific investigations of value to industry are being made, convinces one of the tremendous service Japan is rendering to China. This was started twelve years ago and eight years ago taken over by the South Manchuria Railway Company. On the buildings Yen 280,000 was spent and on equipment Yen 140,000. The running expenses are Yen 300,000 per year, of which Yen 60,000 returns as income from the sale of its products. This annual net outlay of Yen 240,000 is a direct contribution to the scientific development of Manchuria. The Laboratory has made many inventions. Its policy is to give its discoveries to intelligent companies which make use of them in a profitable way. One fire brick factory near Dairen is making bricks, glass and pottery and

employing a thousand men. There is a factory for the weaving of wild silk and another for the making of cakes from millet. Another is making lineoleum from magnesia found in Manchuria. The most up-to-date bean mill in Dairen is using a process introduced by this laboratory. Experiments are being made for extracting from beans new kinds of oil and glycerine. Paper is being made from the stalks of kaoliang, the big millet. In one large room I found several chemists engaged in examining the water brought from the various parts of Manchuria, so that any Chinese or Japanese can without charge have the purity of his drinking water tested.

As usual the Japanese are promoting education. While the Company is giving first care to the children of their own nationals, they are more and more opening schools for others. Of the 20 primary schools, eight are for Chinese. There are a medical school and language and technical schools also open to Chinese students.

The chief industry of the South Manchuria Railway is the mining of coal at Fushun twenty miles east of Mukden. The mine is one of the largest in the world and the best equipped in the Far East. The vein was worked by the Chinese as early as the 13th Century. The Manchu Emperor fearing the evil results if he should disturb Feng-Shui (the Spirit of Wind and Water) forbade the taking of coal. The mines were therefore practically forgotten until 1901 when the Russians formed a joint Russian and Chinese Company. When in 1905 the Railway was

ceded to Japan the daily output was 363 tons and the number of employees was 356. The mining village of Chien Chin Chai consisting fourteen years ago of fifty cottages is now a prosperous town of 37,000 Chinese and Japanese. The area of the mine is about ten miles from east to west and two and one-half from north to south. The seam averages 130 feet in thickness but in some parts enlarges to 450 feet, nearly all solid coal. It is estimated that there are 950,000,000 tons at a depth of 40 to 3000 feet, of which 60% can easily be mined. At the present rate of 2,800,000 tons a year it will take over three hundred years to exhaust the coal.

Nearly all the laborers and miners are Chinese. Of the 26,020 employees only 1,157 are Japanese. In 1919 the wages of the Japanese laborers were Yen 0.92 and of the Chinese Yen 0.43. The lowest paid Chinese laborer received thirty-eight sen per day. Cheap laborers are housed by the Company free of charge and they are fed for 11 sen a day. One quarter of a day's wages is charged each month for a hospital fee which insures the laborer free attention if ill. The demand for coal is so great that all the mines can produce is sold at a high price to the Trans-Siberian Railway, to the cities and towns in Manchuria and on the coast of China. Not far from this mine, at Anshanchan, the Company is erecting a large steel mill.

For the benefit of the employes the Company operates a large club house at Changchun and seven smaller clubs. Twelve secretaries are employed,

five of whom with moving picture machines and other equipment are constantly visiting the smaller stations. This uplift work was supervised until recently by the late Mr. S. Otsuka who in the Russo-Japanese War was field director of the Japanese Army YMCA. The authorities also welcome and support the work of Dr. T. C. Winn, a former missionary in Japan, who has already established seven Christian churches in the railroad centers.

Complaints

Stories of discrimination by the railway company against non-Japanese shippers, reports of the disagreeable officiousness of Japanese police, and accounts of downright cruelty and wrongs uncontrolled by the Japanese authorities so frequently come to the traveler's attention that they cannot be passed over.

A missionary told me that it is a common occurrence for a Japanese drug store in the country to sell morphine to a Chinese. Seeing his degradation the relatives get angry and kill the druggist's clerk. Japanese soldiers arrive, arrest and behead a Chinese who they claim is the murderer. A police box is established, Japanese red light houses come in and the morphine selling druggist is the leading citizen. Whether this is the exact sequence of events I cannot testify from personal observation. I did, however, in every city visited see more drug stores than sales of curative medicines could possibly support. Photographs of the unburied corpses

of drug fiends I bought of a Changchun stationer. When I finally asked a consular official about this commerce in injurious drugs he frankly acknowledged that he and his associates had been lenient towards the morphine peddlars and other low-class traders. Japanese were finding it so difficult to establish their business that the officials had deliberately winked at some bad practices. Some of the leading business men in Manchuria, he said, had made their first profits in morphine. But since March, 1919, the Tokyo government had issued strict orders to stop this whole nefarious trade. Regarding the red light districts it is only too true that all over Asia prostitution has followed the Japanese flag.

An apparently accurate report of cruel treatment of a Chinese coolie at Changchun I traced to an amusing conclusion. A British non-commissioned officer and a business man published a signed statement which I condense: "On the 19th of December a Chinese coolie was brutally tortured by members of the South Manchuria Railway staff and the Japanese police. One of the office employees took a burning coal from the stove with a pair of tongs and applied it to the face of the coolie, who was apparently arrested on the charge of what we imagined to be a plain clothes policeman. He had apparently been ill-treated for some considerable time, as his face was dripping with blood. The whole staff present were treating the matter as a huge joke and were taking turns looking through the glass doors

of the room where the coolie was confined, deriving great enjoyment from so doing." This story I looked into. What actually happened was that a baggage coolie was caught stealing clothes. Rather than turn him over to the police the Japanese clerks practised a little frightfulness on him by waving a hot coal near his face and painting his cheeks with red ink. I tried to find the fellow, but learned that fearing the real police he had left for parts unknown.

A story of police red tape: An elderly American lady was visiting her missionary sons, one in Korea and the other in China. Her American passport had been properly viséed in Korea, but when she came to the Manchuria border she was summarily removed from the train, put on a box car and switched back to the Korean side of the Yalu. Here she was detained for twenty-four hours until her son secured the necessary "police permit" for her to travel in Manchuria. All the plans for friends to meet and help her along the way were thus upset on account of a new rule. I wish people who like to hand on such stories regarding the unkind practices of Japanese police could have seen what I saw on a train between Montreal and New York City. At the international boundary, at eleven o'clock at night, United States immigration officials with the help of the train and Pullman conductors, ejected from their berth a young Jewish mother and her twenty-months old baby, because the suitable passport was lacking. The woman hysterically asserted that her relatives, who actually came looking for her in the

morning, were on the train in another car, but no adequate effort was made to locate them. Japanese officials are so uniformly courteous that any unnecessary harshness in Manchuria is hard to believe.

That in transportation and other business dealings the South Manchuria Railway favors Japanese is quite natural and probably true. The rule made by the Railway Company in the spring of 1914 gave color to this charge. In order to divert traffic to Dairen and build up that port, freight rates, regardless of distance, were made the same from Mukden to Dairen as from Mukden to Antung or to Newchwang. The mileage is

Mukden to Dairen	250	miles
" " Antung	170	"
" " Newchwang	111	"

Newchwang foreign merchants are naturally bitter at this injustice obviously aimed against their trade.

In *The Far East Unveiled*, Frederic Coleman has made a careful study of this question. With his conclusions my brief observations agree. There is little open discrimination. But when cars are short it is probably true that the Japanese shipper is served first. Mr. Coleman found that a special reduction of thirty per cent was given to Japanese who shipped certain kinds of goods to points in Manchuria through from Japan by one of the two big Japanese steamship companies. He concludes, however, that if any western nation should vigorously object to the obstacles that were being put by

Japan in the way of foreign business men a real Open Door might be preserved.

My whole impression of Manchuria was that Japan, notwithstanding some wrongs and mistakes, was proving a real blessing to the country. She has helped to open up a rich, vast hinterland to millions of Chinese farmers and industrial workers. In the railway and the civil administration, she has given to China an object lesson in efficiency which must in time have a deep effect on that potential, misgoverned nation.

To maintain her control in Manchuria, Japan has had a hard fight. Just after the peace treaty had been signed at Portsmouth in 1905, Mr. Edward H. Harriman, who was then in control of the New York Central, the Union Pacific, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Lines, arrived in Yokohama with a plan to girdle the globe with ships and rails. He conferred with the late Prince Ito in Tokyo regarding the lease of the South Manuchuria Railway. As Japan had failed to get the expected indemnity from Russia and as her debt had increased nearly a billion dollars, her finances were in a serious condition. Prince Ito, fearing that it would be impossible to float the loan required for the rehabilitation of the South Manuchuria road, seriously considered the American proposition. But when this matter was publicly known, there was so much popular opposition that the government decided to manage the concession without foreign help. In the next five years various outside proposals were made which Japan regarded

as seriously threatening the railroad's prosperity. In 1907, the Peking government made a contract with a British firm to extend the Chinese Government Railway which now runs from Peking to Mukden, from a station called Hsinmintun directly north to Fakumen. This would open up a rich new district. Japan objected on the ground that this practically paralleled her road and thus endangered its prosperity. In the summer of 1908, the American Consul-General at Mukden, the late Willard D. Straight, worked out a plan with the Chinese and British governments by which a railroad financed by British and American capital should be built from Kinchow, west of Newchwang on the Gulf of Pechili, to Aigun on the Amur River on the northern boundary of Manchuria. This was to cross the Chinese Eastern Railway at Tsitsichar. This proposition was vigorously opposed by the Japanese as it was another scheme for parelleling their line and would doubtless draw off considerable of the Trans-Siberian traffic. Because of the vastness of Manchuria's rich fields, capable of supporting a population equal to that of the whole United States, Japan's objection to new railroads seems now unnecessary. But in those early days of her shaky financial administration on the mainland, Japan was anxious to prevent any inroads on her concessions.

Then followed in the fall of 1909 the suggestion of Mr. Knox, the American Secretary of State, for the internationalization of the whole Russian and Japanese railway system in Manchuria. This Amer-

ican plan for freeing North China from the control of any one country had an effect directly the reverse of Mr. Knox's intention. Japan and Russia, enemies of five years before, put their heads together, rejected the proposal, and on July 4, 1910, signed an agreement by which the two countries covenanted not to dispose of their railways and other concessions in Manchuria without mutual consent. Later in 1916, Russia is said to have made a secret convention with Japan by which she surrendered her part of the Manchurian Railway from Changchun to the Sungari River, and recognized Japan's rights on this river as far as Petuna in Mongolia. (Frederick McCormick: *The Menance of Japan*, p. 321)

The Chinese Revolution which broke out at Hangkow on October 10, 1911, called off further negotiations by foreign powers regarding railways in Manchuria. In the following February the edict of abdication of the Manchus was issued. The proclamation by Yuan Shih K'ai announcing a republic was made. For five years no rival railway projects were brought forward. But early in 1919 in Peking there came a proposition again from an American that all the railways of China be combined into one system, to be financed and supervised internationally. Japan was invited to consider putting the South Manchuria Railway into this scheme. Tokyo never took this seriously. But a little later at Paris a consortium was proposed by which all undeveloped concessions or mortgages held by any power in China would be financed and supervised by a four-power

syndicate made up of bankers in France, England, America and Japan. As this excepts the South Manchuria Railway and mines and all concessions actually being worked, Japan and the other powers in April, 1920, consented to the plan.

Manchuria in the Japanese people arouses both economic hope and historic sentiment. The sacrifice of the 135,000 soldiers will long be remembered. Although the Chinese complain of harsh treatment, although foreigners may say they suffer from the railway's favoritism, Japanese interests are so firmly established that a return to China of the Manchurian road and the mines is not to be expected. The friends of Japan do hope, however, that all claims of unfair treatment of other nationals may soon be done away and that the Japanese administration in Manchuria may be looked upon as a direct beneficence to all.

Chapter VIII

JAPAN IN KOREA

How difficult it has been to get the facts about Korea can be seen from the following quotations from recent newspapers and magazines:

"Special Cable to *The Chronicle*" (San Francisco):

"Paris, July 11, 1919—According to Woon Hong Lyuh, a Korean delegate to the peace commission, 20,000 leaders of the political movement have been killed by Japanese soldiers."

Even *The World Outlook* as late as December, 1919, handed on the rumor that 30,000 to 40,000 had been killed. This is 3,000% exaggeration. Seoul foreigners when I was there estimated the total as under 1,000, while the official figures are 631.

A certain Miss Heidt, who with her parents returned to America July 24, 1919, from a tour in the Orient, gets her new fur coat pictured in the paper and informs us: "The things we saw, in addition to the things we heard from reputable persons, make it appear that Japan means to exterminate the Koreans." The truth is that for a century before the annexation the Koreans failed to multiply, but now the Korean population is increasing at the rate of 500,000 a year.

The Literary Digest, of May 31st, under the caption "Crucifixions in 1919," exhibited a photograph

by which the editor explained to his readers the bitter persecution of Korean Christians by Japanese soldiers. This same photograph appeared in *Current Opinion* for September which credited it to *The Christian Herald*, both of which papers gave it as an illustration of a recent outrage. A Japanese gentleman, learning of the misrepresentation of the American magazines, brought to *The Japan Advertiser* of Tokyo his scrap book prepared when he was in New York in 1906–7. He had clipped this much-used picture from *The New York Journal* which in turn had taken it from *L'Illustration*, a Paris publication. This photograph taken fifteen years ago was also printed in Putnam Weale's *Reshaping of the Far East*, London, 1908. It illustrates a military execution during the Russo-Japanese War.

Miss Heidt visited the Severance Hospital in Seoul (she called it the "Servants" hospital) where she said she saw "hundreds of victims of Japanese brutality, including many girls and women." I have a note signed by Miss Esteb the head nurse reporting that during the two months demonstrations of March and April seventy-two cases injured in the riots were treated at this hospital, thirty-eight of these suffering from gun shots, twenty-two from cuts and twelve from light wounds. Rather less than the hundreds seen by the tourist.

The above wild statements, some from our most reliable magazines, illustrate the misinformation being served up to Americans regarding Korea. The truth is bad enough. Exaggeration only confuses

the issue. What is the real problem of Korea and the background of her relations with Japan?

1. History

During most of the Christian Era Korea has been the Poland between Japan, China and Russia. Japan has realized that Korea was for the hordes of Asia the causeway from the mainland to the Island Empire; that any nation possessing Korea "holds a dagger at Japan's throat," only 120 miles away. For seventeen hundred years Japan has striven to hold the upper hand in the peninsula.

In 202 A. D. the Empress Jingu led an expedition to Korea and received the submission of the court. For sixteen hundred years with varying regularity Korean embassies bearing tribute sailed from Fusan to the capital of the Japanese Shogun.

Then a shift in the scenes. For a period in the sixth century the peninsula devastated by war became a part of the Celestial Empire. In 1218 Korea became a vassal of Genghis Khan, the doughty Mongol, whose terrible horsemen swept all before them from Eastern Europe to the shores of the Pacific.

In 1592 Hideyoshi, one of the most powerful regents Japan has ever known, angered at the growing influence of China and the refusal of the Koreans to pay him tribute, sent an army of 130,000 men into the peninsula. Five years later a second army of 163,000 was dispatched. Both of these wars were

aimed at the combined forces of China and Korea, but Korea was the chief sufferer.

When the Manchus conquered China in 1667 they received the submission of Korea. But notwithstanding her relations with China she continued to send her annual embassies to Japan, bearing a dwindling tribute until 1832 when the embassies ceased.

Up to the China–Japan War the rulers at Peking wavered in their claims to the disputed territory. In 1866 after the massacre of French missionaries in the peninsula China, fearing the demand for an indemnity, protested to the French legation in Peking that Korea was an independent State for which China had no responsibility. When in 1871 Admiral Rogers of the American navy claimed satisfaction for the murder of the crew of the General Sherman the Chinese government again reaffirmed the independence of the country. As late as 1876 when China advised the Korean King to sign the treaty with Japan it was expressly stipulated that "Chosen, being an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan."

But China later attempted to reassert her power. For ten years, from 1884 to 1894 the Chinese Resident in Seoul, the famous Yuan Shih K'ai, was the virtual ruler of the people. He succeeded so well in his efforts to win the country over that in 1890 in a letter to the Emperor of China the Korean King wrote: "Our country is a small Kingdom and a vassal state of China." Yuan ably carried out Li

Hung Chang's policy of thwarting all reforms attempted by the Japanese. As described in a previous chapter, Japan saw that she must choose between a fight or the occupation of Korea by China. Japan chose war. The result was the permanent elimation of China in 1895 as a factor in Korea.

Russia had to be dealt with next. By a combination of flattery and adroitness the Russians so influenced the Korean Queen that the Japanese saw the Court rapidly turning towards these schemers from the north. The treaty with China was signed on April 17, 1895. On October 8th the Queen was murdered. By whom is a hotly debated question. Some Japanese rowdies were certainly mixed up in the affair, and they were probably aided by the infamous Tai-Wen-Kun, the father of the King. Affairs in Seoul became more confused until on February 11, 1896, the King and Crown Prince in the dead of night fled to the Russian legation. Although two years later Japan and Russia signed a protocol mutually agreeing to recognize the sovereignty and independence of Korea, and to abstain from all direct interference in the affairs of the country, Russia continued her efforts to link up Korea with her possessions in Dalny, Port Arthur and Vladivostok. This ruthless diplomacy led up to the Russo-Japanese War which also was fought by Japan to keep another country out of Korea.

After the successful elimination of Russia, Prince Ito was sent to Seoul as Japanese ambassador. To prevent the corrupt court from further machinations

with other countries Prince Ito forced a convention by which the foreign affairs of the country were surrendered to Japan and a Japanese Resident General appointed. Under this new title Prince Ito continued to reside in the capital until his assassination by a Korean at Harbin on October 20, 1909. Those who knew him regarded Prince Ito as a devoted worker for the regeneration of Korea. His murder and the knowledge that the Koreans were again secretly plotting to get other countries to intervene against Japan led the Tokyo Government on August 23, 1910, to cut the Gordian knot and annex the country. Without a single protest or claim for compensation from any European Power Japan increased her territory by fifty per cent and added thirteen (now increased to seventeen) millions to her population.

2. The Country

Korea is a country of villages. A scant five per cent of the people reside in cities. The remainder live today as their ancestors did in little straw-roofed homes. The remote life of many of the people is illustrated by the following paragraph from the *Seoul Press* of March 17, 1918:

"The total number of Koreans killed by wild beasts during the past year was 88, and 162 were injured. In addition 163 cattle and horses and 2,810 other domestic animals were killed. During the same year 19 tigers, 73 leopards, 332 bears, 199 wolves, and 144 wild boars were bagged by the

gendarmes and police" besides those taken by other hunters.

The Korean peninsula is 660 miles long and 150 miles wide. Its area is 84,193 square miles or one and a half times that of New England. Critics speak of Japan as planning to exterminate the Koreans and replace them with Japanese. How contrary to fact! While the Japanese in the peninsula are increasing at the rate of 17,000 a year the native babies are adding to the population a yearly net gain of 400,000, more than twenty times the number of Japanese. Between 1910 and 1920 the Japanese population increased from 171,000 to 343,496, the Korean from 13,000,000 to 16,940,711. Including foreigners the total population is 17,284,207. Although some Nippon statesmen may have hoped to find in Korea an outlet for Japan's surplus children who have been exceeding the death rate by 800,000 a year, because of the fecundity of the Koreans and their low standard of wages, not many Japanese will ever migrate across the straits.

Korea is not like China, fabulously rich in undeveloped resources. Japanese geologists are, however, discovering profitable deposits of gold, silver, copper, graphite, iron, coal and chalk. Four hundred and twenty-four mining permits were issued in 1917, and the increase in the production of minerals from Yen 6,067,952 in 1910 to Yen 14,078,188 in 1916 suggests moderate mining possibilities. Of agricultural lands there are no great plains still untouched by the plow, as one sees over the line in Manchuria

and Siberia. Ten per cent of the country was cultivated at the time of the annexation. Land is being taken from swamps and hill sides and with intensive agriculture the country should support double the present population.

The uncertainty of property ownership in old Korea is well described by Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, writing of his visit in 1901, when the country was still independent:

"My missionary companion said to an intelligent looking Korean who lived in a modest house, kept one ox, and tilled a few acres of land, 'Why do you not build a better house, keep more oxen and cultivate more land?' 'Hush,' replied the frightened Korean, 'it is not safe even to whisper such things, for if they were to come to the ears of the magistrate, I should be persecuted until he extorted from me the last yen that I possess.' Wherever we went the prevailing wretchedness (due to bad government and heavy taxation) was so great that one wondered how long human nature could endure it." Although the Koreans are still wretchedly poor, the abolishment of the system of confiscating visible wealth has given a real incentive to industry.

In the interior one sees piles of stones about the trunk of a tree or bits of rag tied to the branches. The superstitious believe such trees inhabited by demons. By throwing a rock on the pile or attaching a bright bit of cloth to a twig, the attention of the curious devil is attracted and the fearful traveler dodges past in safety. Women preserve the comb-

ings of their hair and on a certain day burn it in an earthen vessel to keep the demons from entering the home during the following year. To believers in such superstition which was the prevailing religion of the old days the Christian message of a loving and supreme Father God came like a notice of release to the captive. Mission work has made rapid progress.

The 478 missionaries and their 1400 salaried fellow workers now shepherd churches which number 92,230 regular members, who contributed in 1917 $178,500 to religious work. The Buddhists claim 49 temples and the Shintoists 65 preaching houses, compared with the 3,164 churches, chapels, schools, and missionary houses, all centers of Christian activity. (For a full and interesting recent description of Korea read the first hundred pages of Dr. Brown's *The Mastery of the Far East,* Scribner, 1919).

3. The Japanese Occupation

"We, in inaugurating the extension of Our Rule to Korea by virtue of Our Imperial Prerogative, are anxious to give expression to the sense of tender solicitude which we entertain for our subjects."

Thus began the Imperial Rescript of August 29, 1910, which made Korea an integral part of the Japanese Empire. The material results of Japan's solicitude for the Koreans are a striking evidence of that efficiency and restless progress which make Japan the peerless leader of the East. At the same time

the failure of the administration to win the hearts of the Koreans as evidenced by the recent uprisings is causing thoughtful Japanese to question whether the spiritual development of their nation has not been sacrificed to material ends.

The progress of Korea under Japan's guidance can be vividly shown by a few plain facts:

(1) In the ten years 1907 to 1916 expenditure in Korea defrayed by the Japanese Treasury was $47,932,932 for the military and $58,786,761 for the civil administration—$106,719,693 expended for Korea.

(2) The Government is spending $47,000,000 in railway construction, $8,750,000 on roads and $5,750,000 in harbor improvements. There are now 1,092 miles of railroad, the company giving employment to 10,800 Koreans and 7,000 Japanese. The director of the Railway Bureau is doing a particularly fine piece of welfare work for his men, employing a YMCA secretary as chief adviser. The 500 miles of roads in 1910 are being increased to 15,000 of which half are completed. Mountain trails are giving place to automobile highways.

(3) The area of cultivated land has increased from 6,162,500 acres to 10,875,000. Agricultural products exported in 1912 amounted to $6,355,000 and in 1916 to $20,460,000. Production of fruit has more than doubled. The export of cow hides increased from half a million to over a million and a half dollars. Waste land brought under cultivation is free from taxation for ten years. Salt production increased

from 1,000,000 kin to 71,000,000 kin. (A kin is 1 1/3 pounds.) There are nearly a million depositors in the postal savings banks.

(4) The factories have increased from almost nil to 780, producing $25,000,000 worth of products a year.

(5) Common school pupils have increased from 20,000 to 82,000 besides the 54,000 in private institutions. The 14 industrial and commercial schools have grown to 90, including special schools for technology, agriculture, and fishing. There are also high grade colleges of medicine, agriculture, forestry and engineering. Korean students in Japan number 574. (On May 31, 1920 there were 675 public common schools with an enrollment of 132,099 pupils *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 21, 1920)

(6) Water works at an expense of five million dollars have been installed in fourteen cities and towns.

(7) The Emperor of Japan at the time of the annexation provided a fund of $15,000,000. The interest from a part of this fund, amounting to half a million dollars a year, subsidizes 427 schools, provides charity relief and is used for the practical purpose of training the old literati or Yangban in useful methods of livelihood.

(8) The tree planting! Books on Korea always used to tell of the universal lack of trees. My impression of Korea is that all the hills, along the railroad at least, are wooded. By Japanese influence more than ten million trees have been planted near Seoul, and in all Korea 473,195,576.

(9) Time would fail to tell of the wonderful hospital in Seoul, the banks, the modern post and telegraph, the improvements in local administration, in courts, prisons, and in the safety to life and property. Fifteen million dollars was spent in resurveying the land and clarifying all the boundaries of farms and fields.

The following comparative table gives the climax to this brief story of one of the most backward nations of the Orient being brought to economic rebirth. (A koku is five bushels, a yen is fifty cents, a kin is 1⅓ pounds.)

Products	1910	1916
Rice	7,900,000 koku	12,500,000
Wheat and Barley	3,500,000 "	6,250,000
Beans	1,800,000 "	2,900,000
Cotton	11,000,000 kin	45,000,000
Cows	700,000	1,300,000
Manufactures	Y19,000,000	Y59,000,000
Mining Products	Y6,000,000	Y14,000,000
Fishing	Y8,100,000	Y16,000,000
Imports	Y39,732,000	Y74,000,000
Exports	Y19,913,000	Y56,801,000

Japan may well be proud of her service to Korea.

4. The Independence Movement

At the end of the uprising of March and April, 1919, I spent a week in Korea examining the cause and the meaning of the two months' independence demonstrations. I made these investigations in

order, as an outsider who knows Japan, to get if possible an unbiased estimate of the actual conditions in Korea today. The frankness of some of the Japanese officials in allowing me the freedom of the country is illustrated by a card of introduction which old General Kojima, the Chief of Police and Gendarmes, gave me. As I had expressed the desire to interview soldiers and the lower police officers without being under suspicion, this genial old soldier drew from his pocket a calling card and wrote on it: "G. Gleason of the YMCA is my friend. I desire that frank answers be given to any questions he may ask." This card broke the ice everywhere. By its introduction I chatted with soldiers, gendarmes and Japanese and Korean police and drew from them as well as from my missionary colleagues the facts and impressions which are here presented.

(1) *Story of the Uprising*

The origin of the recent agitation for independence has been traced by some to a Korean named Rhee, who was once a pupil of President Wilson at Princeton. For years he and other supporters outside of Korea have been agitating against Japan. With confederates in the United States, Hawaii, China, and Manchuria, he seems to have planned a demonstration to take place at about the time he expected to be in Paris. He hoped to get the ear of President Wilson. The Washington Government, however, refused to give him a passport and the demonstration took place as planned but without

the corresponding agitation in Europe. Many of the Koreans doubtless had been led to believe that real independence could be achieved. Some of them thought President Wilson might appear in person to head the movement, and other simple minded people believed that they were celebrating what had already been determined. They thought that cheering for independence might give them some special preferment in the new government that was to be established.

On the first of March, thirty-three young men, about fifteen of whom were Christians and the others members of the semi-religious, semi-political Tendo sect, met in a park in Seoul and without any notification to the missionaries, in the presence of a large crowd of Koreans read the Declaration of Independence which they had drawn up and signed. After this they went to a tea house nearby and telephoned to the police to come and arrest them. They were, of course, promptly clapped into jail. From this park a procession started to parade the streets shouting "Mansei (hurrah) for Independence." This was the beginning of the demonstrations which spread all over the Korean Peninsula.

(2) *Official Report up to October, 1919*

Of the 2500 village districts in Korea there were uprisings in 577, the total number of demonstrations being 779 with demonstrators numbering 452,868. Riots took place in 236 places. The police and gendarmes numbered 8,000 Koreans and 6,000 Japanese

located in 1800 villages. There were besides these about 25,000 Japanese soldiers all of whom at one time were engaged in supressing the demonstrations. In 185 places guns were fired at the demonstrators; 631 Koreans were killed and 1,409 wounded. Nine Japanese policemen were killed and 186 wounded. In 87 places public buildings were destroyed and in 88 places private houses were burned. Up to July 20th, 28,934 Koreans were arrested. While there is a slight duplication in the reports, the following treatment was given those arrested:

7,111 were set free without trial;
8,993 were committed to trial;
5,156 were sent to prison;
10,592 were flogged and released.

In only two out of the nearly 600 villages where demonstrations took place did the Koreans use fire arms. That such a peaceful movement resulted in the killing and wounding of 2,000, the arrest of 29,000 and the flogging of over 10,000 is a fact which calls for meditation more than for comment. No Japanese can be surprised at the widespread wave of protest.

(3) *The Burning of the Church at Chai-Amm-Ni*

The reports of this sad incident are conflicting, but the following is close to what happened: Near the village of Chai-Amm-Ni two Japanese policemen had been killed. It was decided to punish the villagers. On Tuesday, April fifteenth, early in the

afternoon some soldiers entered the village and ordered the leading adult male Christians and members of the Tendo sect to gather in the church. In all some twenty-seven men assembled. They were attacked and apparently most of them were shot or bayoneted before the soldiers set fire to the building. A few tried to escape by running out of the church but were killed. Two women who rushed to help their husbands were murdered. Both were Christians. The soldiers then set fire to the village and left. This act was too much even for the Japanese authorities. The Governor General acknowledged that the soldiers had gone beyond their orders. The officers in that district were given the heaviest punishment possible without calling a special court martial. The massacre was a horrible and cruel reprisal as doubtless were other punishments meted out where Japanese police were killed.

(4) *Other Incidents*

The poor psychology of most of the Japanese police, gendarmes and soldiers was the cause of much cruelty. The whole uprising took them by surprise. In some places the police showed the kind of wisdom which if possessed by all their colleagues would have allowed the uprisings to pass off without any bloodshed. One policeman permitted the people in his district to celebrate for three days when he told them that if they wanted to preserve their independence they must build up an army and navy; this would require much money so they had better go back to

their work and accumulate the wealth necessary to develop the nation. They went away in peace. At another place the demonstrators came to the police station and demanded that the official business be handed over to them. The official in charge wisely replied that he had received no instructions from Seoul but when orders arrived he would hand over the books. The crowd quietly dispersed. On the other hand, I was told that the special soldiers called over from Japan were given their ammunition on the boat so that when they landed in Fusan they expected immediately to go into battle. Another soldier spent all his money in the port thinking that he would soon die fighting. He was amazed when he saw the peaceful condition of the country. This failure of army officers to instruct their soldiers that they were going among an unarmed people and that the demonstrations should be put down as far as possible without force accounted for a good deal of the unnecessary brutality shown by the soldiers. One notices among Japanese army men even in Siberia that they are trained to fight but that they are not experts in making friends or in suppressing trouble by moral force rather than by cartridges and the bayonet. The seeming cruelty shown in Korea is due, I think, not to the brutal hearts of the Japanese soldiers but to their system of training.

I may add here that I have not found evidence that there has been a single case of assault on Korean women by any of the Japanese soldiers or police. Someone has started the statement that the brutal-

ities of the soldiers in Korea may be compared to the treatment of the Armenians by the Turk. I wish to take every opportunity hotly to protest against such a statement. The Japanese have made mistakes in the management of Korea. They have been cruel. The above mentioned burning of the church was horrible and inexcusable but it was their method of punishing what they looked upon as lawlessness and murder and has nothing in common with the driving of innocent Armenians into rivers and deserts or the murder and rape of girls and women.

(5) *Visit to Kyung Dari*

In company with four missionaries I rode out from Seoul to one of the burned villages in the Su Won District. In this one little hamlet ninety houses, or practically every building except the police station, were burned. A government official from Tokio told me that the soldiers had set the fire. I heard that it was one of fifteen villages which had been destroyed, and I looked on the ashes of a burned Christian church which I understand was one of forty-one similar places of worship to which the torch had been put. I took many photographs in this village. As I motored over the good roads built by the Japanese, as I saw some of the nearly half billion of trees planted on the hillsides, I contrasted the splendid material improvements with the sad desolation of this little village. One terrified old woman who had built a little hut over her earthen

jars and pots, the only remnant of what was once her home, told us how the day before her only son and means of support had been arrested and taken away to jail. The assistant pastor and caretaker of this destroyed church told me of his arrest and interrogation by the police who tried to force him to report the details of the death of the policeman on the road nearby. He removed his coat and showed me his blue arms, the record of the blows he had received because he declined to tell what he did not know. One other young Christian in Seoul also showed me the scars on his arm, his side and his thigh where he had been beaten at the police station because he could not truthfully tell what the police tried to make him state.

(6) *Newspaper Attacks on Missionaries*

During the demonstrations some Japanese vernacular papers made strong and unwarranted attacks on the missionaries. I give a few samples:

"The stirring up of the minds of the Koreans is the sin of the American missionaries. The uprising is their work. . . . These messengers of God are only after money, and are sitting around their houses with a full stomach. The bad things of the world all start from such trash as these."

"The American missionaries were behind the recent move. These missionaries have been ingratiating themselves with the Koreans and instigating them to riot when there was no cause for it. . . .

Japan is vexed very much by Americans in Korea, China and Siberia."

But these were only the hasty words of excited reporters. The Keijo Nippo of Seoul late in April wrote: "The attitude of missionaries in Chosen with regard to the recent trouble, with one or two exceptions was on the whole fair, and all suspicion held against them is now gone."

Civil Governor Yamagata on a visit to Tokyo interviewed by the *Japan Advertiser* said: "No missionary in Korea, directly or indirectly, took part in the Korean demonstration, although it is quite probable that some missionaries have shown their sympathy with the Koreans."

(7) *Influence on Mission Work*

One missionary, Mr. Mowry of Pyeng Yang, was arrested, convicted of harboring criminals and sentenced to six months' imprisonment with the execution of the sentence deferred. He appealed. He was convicted by the first count because he allowed Korean young men to stay at his house when according to his reported testimony he "guessed" the police were after them. Two missionaries were later forbidden to continue as principals of schools because they did not restrain their pupils from further agitation. With one exception all the missionaries I met have shown great patience and wisdom. Until a day or two before the uprising they knew nothing about what was to occur. But the fact that so many Christians were implicated has made the subordinate

officers among the police and gendarmes very suspicious of the whole Christian movement. The result is that the work of the missionaries is difficult and unless some solution for this problem can be found, the progress of the church in Korea may be very slow. Missionaries and friends of Korea are much distressed as to the future. The pettiness of many of the police officers has been trying. In one case they entered the home of a lady missionary and as a suspicious article removed from the cover of a sofa pillow the symbol of old Korea. From the wall of another missionary's house they took away an old Korean map. Occasionally a gendarme enters a church during the service and examines all the people present. The police have been known to take the roll book of a church and call on every member; also when a Korean makes a generous donation to a church or Christian school he is likely to be questioned as to his motives in making such a gift.

5. Causes of the Uprising

From the facts that have been related above, it is probably already plain what were the causes of the opposition to the Japanese administration in Korea. All who have visited the country recognize that on the whole Japan has made a splendid contribution to the material welfare of her dependency. Why then are the Koreans so dissatisfied? The reason was expressed to me most succinctly by a Japanese major. He said: "The trouble in Korea

is that the higher officials lay emphasis on statistics and not on the winning of the hearts of the Koreans." The Japanese government officials in Korea have worked hard and in most cases effectively for the improvement of the country but their way of doing it has been lacking in tact as well as friendliness. They have failed to win the people. If I were to define in detail the defects of the Japanese administration I should mention four, all of which, I may say, I talked over with Japanese officials in Seoul. They agreed with me on every one of these points.

(1) *Discrimination Against the Koreans*

Although Korea is an integral part of the Japanese Empire, the salaries of the Korean officials for the same work were less than those of Japanese. The preparatory education for Koreans was eight years and for Japanese eleven. Nearly all Japanese assume an air of superiority toward the Koreans. And the laws for the Koreans have been different from those for Japanese.

(2) *The Strictness of the Administration*

Considering the simplicity of the Koreans there is too much red tape. As one Korean said, "If there is forty miles of red tape in the United States there is 4000 miles in Korea." There have been too many rapid and sudden changes in the customs and too many and irritating laws made which the people cannot understand.

(3) *The Lack of Freedom*

There are in Korea 1800 police and gendarme offices occupied by men most of whom are of petty minds and narrow sympathies. Appeal from their continual annoyances was impossible because the Koreans had no newspapers and magazines in which they could write. Freedom of speech, of assembly and of the press were not known. There was taxation without representation. When the world is being made "safe for democracy" it is not strange that the Koreans thought this an opportunity for winning their rights.

(4) *Espionage and Cruelty*

Through the continual examinations by police and gendarmes, privacy and personal rights have been done away. The police enter private residences and even the women's quarters to make their searches. Everybody is suspected. Unwisely the Japanese in their prison management retained the Korean custom of corporal punishment for minor offences. One blow could be substituted for each yen of fine imposed or for each day of the term of imprisonment. Some years ago statistics were published showing that two thirds of the prisoners put on trial were flogged. In the four years, 1913 to 1914, 221,000 were tried and only 496 were acquitted. These convictions illustrate the annoyance and cruelty of the espionage system. Add to this the undoubted fact, evidence of which I saw, that the police were tortur-

ing innocent people in order to get testimony from them, and one sees that the Koreans have abundant ground for complaint. Even in Japan proper similar torture has until recently been practiced. In a long speech in the Tokyo Diet in February, 1916, Mr. M. Takagi, a well-known barrister, recounted case after case of brutal treatment of persons suspected of crime.

6. Reforms

Soon after the demonstrations, Japanese newspapers, prominent Japanese politicians and other leaders made many suggestions for reforms: The Military Administration should give place to a Civil. They called attention to the wearing of sabers by teachers in the primary schools. The old element of militarism and espionage should be done away. Viscount Kato, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, even went so far as to favor some form of autonomy for Korea. Some suggested that the Koreans should be allowed representation in the Japanese Diet, or should be granted a national assembly. Others proposed freedom of the press, assembly and appeal.

Happily most of the above suggestions are being carried out. In the Emperor's Rescript of August 20, 1919, His Majesty called upon his officials "to rush reforms" and endeavor "that a benign rule may be assured to Korea and that the people diligent and happy in attending to their respective vocations may enjoy the blessings of peace and contribute to

the growing prosperity of the country." Premier Hara followed with a proclamation announcing that "it is the government's fixed determination to forward the progress of the country in order that all differences between Korea and Japan proper in matters of education, industry and of the civil service may be finally obliterated. . . . It is the ultimate purpose of the Japanese government in due course to treat Korea as in all respects on the same footing with Japan proper."

Although a law has been enacted that a civilian may occupy the highest office in Korea, Admiral Baron Saito, the new Governor General, is a retired naval officer. His disposition and acts place him however, between the old military dictator and the hoped-for democratic administrator. Associated with him is Dr. Kentaro Mizuno, the former Home Minister. Baron Saito has loudly proclaimed his intention of placing Japanese and Korean subjects on a footing of equality. He reports that already many Koreans are occupying high posts in the government. Among them are five provincial governors, forty-four judges and public procurators and two hundred and one county magistrates. In order to learn the desires of the people Baron Saito summoned to Seoul fifty-two representative Koreans, four from each of the thirteen provinces. "It is my intention," he writes, "to grant the people freedom of speech and press." He plans "to grant the Korean people the administration of local affairs at some opportune time in the future." He intends "to open 100 new

common schools a year during the next four years, making a total of 860 common schools for Korean children." Flogging has been abolished. The government spent in 1919 a million Yen fighting the cholera invasion from Manchuria and was prepared "to defray the expenses up to ten million Yen to relieve the suffering from the drought in the northwestern part of the country." (*The Independent*, January 31, 1920)

The police system has been transferred from a military to a civil system. Japanese gendarmes numbering 1,135 and Korean gendarmes numbering 568 have been discharged and 4,788 new policemen have been recruited from Japan. Two thirds of these never served as police before. Many of them were addressed by Christian pastors before they left Tokyo. The police force now aggregate 16,313, of whom 7,520 are Koreans. (*The Korean Situation*, No. 2, p. 14)

A cordial attitude towards Christianity has been shown by the new administration. In the new educational regulations announced on March 7, 1920, religion and the Bible are permitted to be taught in private schools. Two Japanese Christian pastors have been employed in the Department of Education and the Department of Religion. While several of the high officials in the old administration were changed, not one of the Christians was removed. (*The Korean Situation*, No. 2, pp. 14, 15)

The impression made upon a missionary by Baron Saito's efforts is given by Bishop Welch of the Meth-

odist church in *The Korea Mission Field* for March, 1920:

"It is true that many arrests are still being made, that spies are numerous, and that the treatment of prisoners is not yet according to enlightened modern standards. But on the other hand it is also true that there is an attempt to introduce into the police system not only a civilian administration but civilian ideals, that men trained in Japan and carefully instructed as to kindly conduct have been added in large numbers to the force, that the employment of former gendarmes is only temporary, and that no recent case of wholesale brutality has been reported.

"There is less emphasis upon the military among the officials as witnessed by the disappearance of countless uniforms and swords. The salaries of Japanese and Koreans in government employ have been equalised in the various grades. Educational reforms of the very sort urgently requested by friends of the Korean people have already been announced and others are under consideration. Permits have been given for the publication of three newspapers edited and owned entirely by Koreans, and others are assured. Commendable progress has been made towards freedom of publication, freedom of speech and freedom of association. A Korean Advisory Council is being revitalised and has spoken frankly for the people. Local councils are promised for the spring. . . . While nothing spectacular has been done, a beginning has been made towards the

preparation of the people for self-government." (Quoted in *Japan Chronicle*, March 18, 1920)

7. Conclusion

Friends of Korea must have patience with Japan. She took over the supervision of the country at the end of the Russo-Japanese War when she was exhausted from her terrible two years of fighting. Her national debt had risen from Yen 561,000,000 to Yen 2,217,000,000. She had neither the money nor the trained officials with which to meet her new and great responsibilities in Saghalin, Manchuria, and Korea. That she has made so few failures has given her a place among the Big Five nations of the world today.

Can we blame Japan for replying to her critics that Great Britain has had similar uprisings in Egypt and India where the number of natives killed seems to have been several times the number of deaths in Korea? What can we in America say when Japanese remind us that we have lynched 3,224 people in thirty years—two every week—sixty-one of whom were women? They can remember, too, our race riots with every probability of more to come. Would that they never hear of Haiti!

What can American military men say, when our neighbors point to that horrible record of cruelty in our army as published in the *Literary Digest* of August 9, 1919? "In December, 1918, at an American military prison in France a soldier prisoner with

an imperfect knowledge of English was given some minor military order. For failure to respond as the officer thought he should, he was cruelly beaten. Under punishment he cried out 'This is terrible!' Two sergeants and a lieutenant beat him again, and placed him in a 'pup' tent for solitary confinement. During the afternoon his quietness was noticed, and when the tent was torn down he was lying on his back with his throat cut.

"It was a common thing to see a sergeant knock a man down or beat him up on the slightest provocation. One morning as the men fell in line for breakfast one man was slightly out of line. Sergeant Bell went up to him and punched him in the face six times."

And what can Europe say? According to the *New Republic* of July 2, 1919, "the White-Guard Finnish government was possessed of the persons of some 120,000 'Red' citizens as prisoners, of whom some 15,000 were shot.

"An English correspondent of the *New Statesman* of London said that 'at Lahti (Finland) 200 women were taken out early one morning in the second week of May and mowed down in a batch by machine guns.' He said that the total number of Reds executed or murdered was from 15,000 to 20,000." And this is the government that was recognized by the American State Department.

This period of national and international readjustment calls for patience. We missionaries and our supporters must not be unduly disturbed, or

turned aside from our great tasks, by unsettled conditions. We must remember that much of the foreign mission work of the world is done in countries where there is civil war or great unrest. Some discouraged missionaries say: "Let us go where we can work in peace." Some thoughtless critics say that the missionaries cause unrest. We would rather say: Unrest causes or calls the missionaries.

Chapter IX

JAPAN AND CHINA

"There have been many great crises in history, but none comparable to the drama which is now being enacted in the Far East, upon the outcome of which depends the welfare not only of a country or of a section of the race but of all mankind."

—*Minister Paul S. Reinsch*

Japan	*China*
56,000,000 people	400,000,000 people
140,200 square miles	4,300,000 square miles
Few natural resources	Vast natural resources
7,860 miles of railway	6,467 miles of railway
2,539,848 tons of steamships	150,000 tons of steamships
$1,815,122,000 foreign trade in 1918	$1,231,437,000 foreign trade in 1918
Strong Central government	Civil War
650,000 tonnage of navy	No navy of consequence
People united and patriotic	Many different dialects, little patriotism

A few comparisons like the above and the background of "The Twenty-one Demands," Shantung, and the four hundred million yen "Loans" is before us. (From August, 1914 to October 25, 1918, Japanese loans to China totalled Yen 391,430,000.

Millard: *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, p. 192) He who would clearly think through the Japan-China problem must also remember other relevant facts:

Since 1848 Portugal has annexed approximately 800,000 square miles of territory; Belgium, 900,000; Germany and Russia each 1,200,000; the United States, 1,800,000; France, 3,200,000; Great Britain, 3,600,000; and the other white nations another 500,000, thus making 13,200,000 square miles of territory directly annexed by white races during seventy years, an area three and one half times the size of Europe." (Bishop Bashford: *China, An Interpretation*, p. 446)

Can we wonder at Japan's conclusion that White history seems to prove that patriotism is both love of land and "love of more land?" Other countries have grown great by aggression. Why not Japan? At her very door lies the most pregnant combination in the world: Inexhaustible and uncharted natural resources, an undeveloped market, the greatest on the globe, and a streaming supply of virile labor. Add to these material elements, the similarity in language, customs, literature and religion, and Japan's opportunity in China becomes to her an imperative call.

Said a Japanese railroad man to me at Harbin: "If every Chinese who wears one patched cotton suit a year, would raise his living standards, so as to need two, the demand could not be met even by doubling the mills of Japan." Who can imagine

the buying power of 400,000,000 vigorous human beings when their energies are harnessed to productive mines, railroads, improved farms and humming factories?

Every investigator is amazed at the bigness of China's natural resources and the backwardness of their development. Mr. Julean Arnold, economic expert of the American legation at Peking, told us that five-sixths of the people of China live in one-third of the territory, leaving the other two-thirds practically uncultivated. While in Shantung there are 500 people to the square mile, there are undeveloped parts of Mongolia teeming with mineral and animal life which may be even richer than our western plains. With her vast fields stretching away to the setting sun, China produces only 2,500,000 bales of cotton as against America's 12,000,000. The wheat production is 250,000,000 bushels, or less than a third of the 850,000,000 of the United States. In Szechuan province, wheat sells for twenty-six cents a bushel. Another twenty-six cents for transportation should put it on the Shanghai market at less than sixty cents, or about one-fourth the price paid American farmers in 1919. By improved farm methods, by the development of new lands and the opening of railroads, China may solve the high cost of food for the whole Orient, if not for the world.

An American coal expert estimates the world's supply outside the United States and China at 573,000,000,000 tons, while naming 1,500,000,000,000 as the supply of China. At the present rate of con-

sumption China could coal the world for 1500 years. Iron ore, too, is found in abundance. In 1913, President Farrell of the United States Steel Company stated that Hangkow pig iron could be landed at San Francisco at $10.78 per ton, just half the American price at the same place. A British engineer estimated that 110 Chinese could in a day smelt as much iron as 100 Pittsburg workers. Their wage, however, was one-fifteenth of the American. He added that with some easily made improvements, the Hangkow company could produce pig iron at $3.00 per ton. (Bashford: *China, An Interpretation*, pp. 449, 450) But the output in 1918 was a mere half million tons in contrast to America's thirty-nine millions.

While one-third of China's imports are cotton goods, her spindles number only 1,500,000 in comparison with the 3,500,000 of Japan, 32,000,000 of the United States and 52,000,000 of England. In China, there are only 5,000 looms and in England 840,000. To erect a factory of 50,000 spindles and 500 looms requires $1,000,000. When one ponders a moment on the amount of money which will be required to equip China's mills, exploit her fields and mines and lay out her railroads, one can appreciate the words of Mr. Baker, the American adviser to the Chinese Department of Communications: "There is not sufficient capital in all the world to start China running as a modern concern." Speaking of Japan's fear that there is not room enough for other foreign interests in this vast country, Mr.

Arnold remarked: "I wonder that there is a human being that can read and write who can hold these little ideas."

Some American business men, also still deaf, dumb and blind to the unlimited and elastic future trade of Asia, including that of waking Russia, complain of the dangerous economic rivalry of Japan. Such economists fail to see two important facts: First, that the commercial possibilities of the Far East are beyond calculation, providing room enough for all. John Spargo estimates that Russia alone will need $12,500,000,000 worth of machinery for factories, $4,000,000,000 to improve waterways, $8,500,000,000 for her railways and unestimated quantities of farm machinery. (*Russia as an American Problem*, pp. 269-279) Second, that the deeper Japan enters into these possibilities the greater becomes her own consuming power. See how her imports have grown:

1898.....	Yen	277,000,000
1908.....		436,000,000
1918.....		1,668,000,000
1919.....		2,173,000,000

Notwithstanding the tremendous exports of the last four years, her excess of imports for 1919 was $38,700,000, and for the first six months of 1920 it was $247,470,000. (*New York Times*, July 18, 1920) Prosperity for one brings prosperity to all.

Japan's mistakes in China began, it seems to me, at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Instead

of being the modest friend, Japan became the superior neighbor. Evidence has been all too frequent. As far back as 1906, I saw a Japanese pulling a Chinese about by the hair because the coolie had accidentally spilled some water on the soldier's coat. At Changchun Station last spring a railroad guard calling a train, roused the sleeping Chinese by a kick. By such over-bearing treatment, Japan has steadily lost that almost worshipful respect which in 1905 she won on the Manchurian plains. What should have been a campaign of friendship has given way to a policy of force.

The Twenty-one Demands

The Twenty-one Demands of January 18, 1915, were an undisguised, concrete evidence of Japan's aggressive policy. The original articles can be found in full in the appendix to Chapter V. Against this act, all foreign and much Japanese opinion has been united.

Of these Twenty-one Articles such an impartial writer as A. S. Hershey gives his impression:

"Group V showed that Japan was aiming at the political control of China, whether for its own sake or in order, more likely, to be able the better to exploit her commercial and industrial resources. The granting of these demands would, in effect, have transformed China into a protectorate, a vassal state of Japan. (*Modern Japan*, p. 304)

Even Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, former Japanese Minister in Peking, later Governor General of the

leased territory in Manchuria, now Ambassador to England, said of these negotiations:

"When Viscount Kato sent China a note containing five groups, and then sent to England what purported to be a copy of his note to China, and that copy only contained four of the groups and omitted the fifth altogether, which was directly a breach of the agreement contained in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, he did something which I can no more explain than you can. Outside of the question of probity involved, his action was unbelievably foolish." (Quoted by Frederic Coleman—*The Far East Unveiled*, p. 73)

The Japan Weekly Mail, always more than friendly to the government, baldly stated the situation in 1915:

"If it is Japan's settled policy to dominate and control China and to achieve the hegemony of Eastern Asia, this appears to be an ideal opportunity. The hands of Europe are tied. The hands of the United States are folded in peace. China, herself, is important. Europe has set Japan a bad example. What is Japan, that she should rise superior to the common level and show an unselfish regard for the rights of other nations when the whole civilized world is in a debauch of conflicting national ambitions and selfishness?" (Quoted by Hershey: *Modern Japan*, p. 302)

The protest of the American government, which since 1784 has negotiated forty-six treaties embodying the principles of the Open Door and the Territorial Integrity of China, was a matter of course.

The main parts of the Demands we mentioned in Chapter V. But because of its encroachment upon England's sphere of influence in the Yangtze Valley, the section bearing upon the Hanyeping Company calls for special mention.

The Yangtze-Kiang River is one of the finest of the giant waterways of the world. From the mountain fastnesses of Thibet, it flows 3,500 miles to where it empties 770,000 cubic feet of water per second into the Eastern Sea. Of the eighteen provinces of China, it flows through five and touches the boundaries of another two. More than 200,000,000 souls are counted in the population of this basin of 700,000 square miles. For ocean going steamers, the river is navigable for 1,000 miles, for small steamers another 300 miles and for junks 200 more—1,500 miles of inland water communications.

"It is on the Yangtze basin," remarks a Japanese official report, "on account of its immense wealth and variety of products, that for the present and the future, will be centred the commercial interest of the whole world."

Into the heart of this great waterway broke Group Three of the Twenty-one Demands.

"When the opportune moment arrives, the Hanyeping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations (China and Japan), and without the previous consent of Japan, China shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of the said company or of neighboring mines."

This paragraph concerns the iron and steel mills

at the city of Hanyang, which with Wuchang and Hangkow, form the upper Yangtze commercial center with a population of 1,500,000 people. The Hanyeping Company owns a large part of the Tayeh iron mines, eighty miles east of Hangkow, with which there are water and rail connections. The ore is sixty-seven per cent iron, fills the whole of a series of hills 500 feet high, and is sufficient to turn out 1,000,000 tons a year for 700 years. Coal for the furnaces is obtained from Pinghsiang 200 miles distant by water where in 1913, five thousand miners dug 690,000 tons. Japanese have estimated that the vein is capable of producing yearly a million tons for at least five centuries. (Frederic Coleman: *The Far East Unveiled*, pp. 49-51)

Thus did Japan attempt to enter and control a vital spot in the heart of China which for many years Great Britain has regarded as her special trade domain.

It is true that the agreement in its final form merely pledged China not to hinder the formation and operation of a joint Chinese and Japanese Hanyeping Company, but the far-reaching plans disclosed in their original demands caused widespread consternation.

Followed by Japan's insistence that all the German rights in Shantung should be turned over to her, followed also by ambitious actions in Siberia, these Twenty-one Demands have been the signal to Chinese, and to foreigners interested in their own trade or the future independence of China, for united

action against Japan's further political expansion on the mainland.

Shantung

The Shantung storm has for a year swirled around Articles 156-158 of the Peace Treaty. They read:

> Article 156.—Germany shall transfer to Japan all the rights and privileges acquired by her from China by virtue of the Treaty concluded on March 6, 1898, and other agreements regarding Shantung, including the railways, mines and cables. All the rights relating to the Shantung-Tsinanfu Railway and its branch lines shall be acquired and retained by Japan, together with all the property, stations, rolling stock, estate, mines, equipment and material required for mining supplementary to the railways. Japan shall also acquire the cables between Shanghai and Tsingtau and between Tsingtau and Chefoo, together with all the rights and privileges attached to them, without any compensation, and without incurring expense or receiving restraint.
>
> Article 157,—Japan shall acquire and retain, without any compensation whatever and without incurring any expense or receiving any restraint, the movable and immovable property possessed by the German state in Kiaochow and all the works and improvements, and the rights naturally to be insisted on as the result of the expenses to be borne.

> Article 158,—Germany shall deliver to Japan within three months after the operation of the present Peace Treaty all the registers, title deeds, other official papers and documents regarding the administration of Kiaochow, together with all the papers relating to the rights and privileges mentioned in the two preceding Articles.
>
> (*Japan Advertiser*, June 14, 1919)

The above award gave to Japan 256 miles of railroad, two cables, some coal mines and a seaport in the province of Shantung. Considering that China needs a hundred thousand miles of railroad, that her unmined minerals are fabulous and that she can absorb limitless capital, the transfer of a few concessions from an enemy of China to a neighbor, if rightly done, should not have aroused excitement. But in the background of Shantung, were Manchuria, Korea and the 1915 Demands. China thought she saw Japan putting a circle of control around the very capital of the republic.

What actually happened at Paris concerning Shantung, is made plain in a public statement by President Wilson on August 6, 1919.

> "In the conference of April 30 last, where this matter was brought to a conclusion among the heads of the principal allied and associated powers, the Japanese delegates, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda, in reply to a question put by myself declared that:

'The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsingtau.

'The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose.

'The police forces will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors as the directors of the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese government.'

"No reference was made to this policy being in any way dependent upon the execution of the agreement of 1915. Indeed I felt it my duty to say that nothing that I agreed to must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the government of the United States in the policy of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918."

(*Boston Herald*, August 7, 1919)

Viscount Uchida, the Foreign Minister, has repeatedly stated: "The Japanese troops will be completely withdrawn, and the Railway is intended to be operated as a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise without any discrimination in treatment against the people of any nation. The Japanese Government have moreover under contemplation proposals for the establishment of a general foreign settlement, instead of the exclusive Japanese settlement, which

by the agreement of 1915 with China they are entitled to claim." (*Japan Advertiser*, August 3, 1919)

(For conflicting statements by Japanese publications regarding Shantung, see Appendix to this chapter.)

Japan's hopes of acquiring these German rights had been communicated early in 1917 to all the Allied belligerent governments.

"The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the government of Russia then existent, promptly and willingly acknowledged the justice of Japan's claims, and agreed to support them at the Peace Conference." (Viscount Uchida in *The N. Y. Independent*, Jan. 3, 1920)

This agreement, China seems not to have known. When in the spring of 1917, she declared war, she notified Germany that the treaty and grants forced from her in 1898 were abrogated and must therefore revert to China. She seemed to hope without any expense to herself to get back all the investments Germany had made in Shantung.

The Chinese students seized upon the Shantung incident as an opportunity to stop Japan's further aggressions in China and to remove their own corrupt politicians.

Three days after the Paris Conference announced its decision to allow Japan to remain in Shantung, 3,000 students of Peking marched to the home of Tsao Ju Lin, Minister of Communications and a prominent pro-Japanese who has negotiated the

many loans with Japan during the last few years. Tsao left by the backdoor as they entered the front. But they caught in the house and beat up Mr. Chang Chung Hsiang, Chinese Minister to Japan, who was as pro Japanese as Minister Tsao. Afterward they burned the house. From this began that strike against Japan by the students of China which, largely by peaceful means, has aroused the whole nation.

The students demanded the dismissal of "the three traitors" as the students called Mr. Tsao, Minister of Communications, Mr. Chang, Minister to Japan, and Mr. Lu, Director General of the Currency Reform Bureau. Their anti-government activities resulted in the arrest of a thousand students in Peking alone. Other agitators, however, took their places and the movement became so widespread and heated that on June eighth the thousand students were released and on June eleventh "the three-traitors" were dismissed from office.

A boycott of Japanese goods was started. Some Chinese claim that 80% of the Japanese export business to China has been stopped, that one steamship company reported to its shareholders a loss of $330,000 due to this boycott, and that the movement for home industries has been greatly increased. One American firm, it is asserted, received orders for twenty new and complete cotton mills to be set up in China in the next two years. (*The Nation*, Dec. 23, 1919)

Travellers from China report stores selling Japanese goods are going bankrupt. Japan's official re-

ports, however, indicate from the boycott little effect on the China trade. The exports from Japan to China increased from Yen 359,150,000 in 1918 to Yen 447,049,000 in 1919. The imports to Japan increased from Yen 281,702,000 in the former year to Yen 322,100,000 in 1919. There was a gain in exports to China of 24%. (Reported by the Consul General of Japan in New York.)

Only in South China, where trade is small anyway, the exports did decrease from Yen 611,000 in 1918 to Yen 87,000 in 1919.

The conduct of Japanese citizens and officials in Shantung has been severely criticised. In the *Missionary Review of the World* for December, 1919, a correspondent writes:

"When the Chinese labor battalions returned from France and when allotment money was paid by the British authorities to families of the laborers, the Japanese rushed in large numbers of prostitutes to entice the Chinese and obtain their money at the expense of their morals."

"Hostility to the American Presbyterian Mission, founded in Shantung in 1863 by Dr. Hunter Corbett, was manifested by the establishment by the Japanese of a large 'red-light district' in Tsingtau across the road from the Mission compound. The Mission will probably be compelled to sell its property for a nominal sum and move elsewhere."

On the other hand the Berlin Mission Society has stated:

"In Shantung Superintendent Voskamp was the

only ordained German missionary who was allowed to remain in Tsingtau. He is considered a prisoner and is not allowed to write home, but he has been permitted to conduct the work of the Mission. *Heathen Japan has treated her enemies better than the Christian nations.*"

(*The Christian Work*, March 6, 1920)

Japan seems unintentionally to have made the greatest recent contribution to the welding together of the Chinese people. They needed a uniting influence. As recently as 1915, at the Far Eastern Olympics at Shanghai, where athletes had gathered from the Philippines, Japan and China, the Christian educator Chang Poling remarked: "Here is something new. Before this I have seen Chinese represent a province, or the North or the South, but today is the first time I ever saw students cheering for China." From the heat generated over the Shantung controversy has arisen a wave of enthusiasm and sacrifice. Some day, perhaps, China will thank Japan for this stimulus to her national union.

Opium and Morphine

The mention of opium and morphine in connection with China brings little credit to the nations of the West. England's head hangs in shame; the United States is guilty; Japan, too, has joined the group of the disgraced. As I write I have before me from the *Peking and Tientsin Times* of January, February and March, 1919, sheet after sheet giving the printed

lists of 250 Japanese stores known to be selling morphine in Peking, Tientsin, and numerous cities in Manchuria and Shantung. It only mildly alleviates the dishonor to Japan to know that most of the drug emanated from London, Philadelphia and New York. Photographs and other evidence show that the packages were shipped by parcel post to some of the largest firms in Japan and through them distributed to the small druggists and needle carrying pedlers in North China. This is done through the Japanese post offices, the packages of which Chinese officials hesitate to open.

Dr. Wu Lien Teh, one of the best known experts, estimates that from 1916 to 1918 morphia and heroin were imported into China to the terrific amount of twenty tons, sufficient to give 1,000 million injections, and to poison the manhood of the country. Putnam Weale writes: "This trade, while it is almost entirely handled by Japanese sub-agents and pedlers in China, is largely based on British export. Although licenses are necessary for ordinary trade export, no licenses are required to despatch from England by parcel posts two pounds of a drug containing 70,000 injections. The real secret of this nefarious trade is that the manufacture of morphia is entirely uncontrolled by the British Government. And when petty Japanese officials in Dairen and Tsingtau are empowered to issue licenses, accepted by the British Government as justifying export in unlimited quantity, we begin to see what is behind this business. That England should be even more

responsible than Japan for a continuance of this traffic is a blot on her fair name which the British Government must remove." (*Japan Advertiser*, August 5, 1919)

Responsibility, too, rests on China. Some opium is still grown, especially where the military governors control. They even stimulate the traffic. Dr. Wu told me that in Kirin the Chinese military governor pays his soldiers in opium. They sell it to the merchants. Then the soldiers go out, arrest the dealers, seize the opium and take it to the military governor. He again uses it to pay the soldiers.

In this same city the Chinese police knew that Japanese were selling morphia. They seized the drug, arrested the dealers and asked the Japanese consul to punish them. The consul complained to the Chinese authorities and the police were fined for interfering with the rights of trade of Japanese. A merry-go-round of lawlessness which brings no credit to any participant.

Any one who has seen the photographs of dead morphine fiends thrown out in heaps to be eaten by dogs can feel only indignant at any civilized government which does not honestly and heartily join the International Opium Agreement of 1914. Although this has never been approved by all the nations and is not officially in force, China and England on March 31, 1917, signed a contract for the absolute suppression of the traffic. Finally in the spring of 1919 Japan announced both in Tokyo and in Peking that her consuls would take measures to stop the business

and apply to her nationals in China the strict penalties enforced against dealers and smugglers in Japan. Here again Japan shows the disposition to follow the other nations. Were this awful drug problem attacked by the League of Nations Japan would certainly join the movement and do her part to suppress in China this age-long scourge.

The Military

For excusing the occasional misconduct of Japanese soldiers, officials and citizens I hold no brief. But Japan's reason for locating numerous military men in China may be a genuine fear for her people and her economic holdings. China is still and has always been an unsettled country. While Japan boasts that her ruling family has endured unchanged for 2,580 years, China, during 4,000 years of substantial history, has suffered twenty-six changes of dynasty. In 1898 there was a coup d'état when the old Empress Dowager seized the government. In 1900 came the Boxer Uprising. Following this after eighteen months of exile the fickle Empress Dowager was again in the lead. In 1908 a program of constitutional reform was announced, two years later the first National Assembly met, and the following year there was the Revolution. It has been chaos ever since.

The Monroe Doctrine For Asia

Japan is plainly maneuvering to find her place in Asia. A feeler here, a new enterprise there. Her

journalists frequently speak of "Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia." Although many sharp criticisms, notably by Thomas Millard in *Our Eastern Question*, have been aimed at Japan for sheltering her acts under President Monroe's wings, one may question whether when the smoke has cleared and the boundaries are settled the conduct of the United States on the Western Hemisphere, and the policy of Japan in Eastern Asia may not eventually be the same.

"As a principle," enunciated Monroe in 1823, "* * * the American Continents * * are henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by any European power * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers and declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Japan is determined, I repeat, that Occidental nations shall make no further aggressions on the western shores of the Pacific. Her ability to enforce this policy has been achieved since 1904. During these sixteen years, while maturing, Japan has doubtless said and done many immature things. But she has annexed less territory than the United States since Monroe spoke for us, although she has no undeveloped resources comparable to ours. Her prompt approval of the League of Nations and her assent to the Consortium give clear evidence that as soon as

fear for her "economic life and political safety" is removed Japan's policy for Asia will be a real Monroe Doctrine.

The Consortium

At last a joint financing of foreign concessions in China is in sight. Since the Knox proposal in 1906 for the internationalization of the railways in Manchuria, many plans to extricate China from her foreign commitments have been proposed. For over a year England, France, America and Japan have been considering a Consortium for pooling through an international banking combine all large foreign loans and enterprises in China. At first Japan held off. The proposal was regarded by many Japanese as a scheme to steal their rich concessions in Manchuria, Mongolia and Shantung. The discussion aroused caustic comment in the vernacular papers. Said the *Hochi:*

"It passes our comprehension why the rights which Japan has acquired by virtue of treaty should be passed over to such a private concern."

The Chauvinistic *Yamato* declared:

"The Consortium should be broken up. The diplomats of this country seem to feel no hesitation whatever in sacrificing anything and everything on the altar of coöperation with the Powers. At this rate they might consent to abolish our Imperial House should America and France induce Britain to declare herself a republic, and then come and demand a change in the national organization of this country."

The usually staid *Kokumin* adds:

* * * "If treaties between Japan and China were not to be binding without the sanction of America, if Japan were to abandon her vested interests at America's bidding, if even the policy of government in Korea were to be changed to consult America's pleasure, what would become of the unsullied prestige of the Empire as an independent Power?"

The *Yorozu* shouts:

"Japan must not join the Consortium unless Manchuria and Mongolia be excluded. The Japanese nation must absolutely refuse to endorse a scheme whose object may be to place China under an Anglo-Saxon administration. In the name of liberty America annexed part of Mexico, absorbed Cuba and the Philippines and swallowed up Hawaii. Greater hypocrites than the Americans it would be difficult to find. China is now in danger on their account." (Quoted in *Japan Chronicle*, Aug. 28, 1919)

Notwithstanding the difficulties and prejudices encountered the consortium agreement has been concluded. At one stage in the negotiations Japan wished to exclude "such interests as might be necessary to safeguard her economic life or political safety." She finally consented to forego this formula and agreed with other nations to pool all large concessions and public undertakings in China except those that have already been developed. Japan thus preserves her hold on the South Manchuria Railway, its branches and mines, the Shantung Railway and the mines already being worked. While it leaves a

free field for small industrial undertakings, it protects China from large exploitation by any single power. A loan of $250,000,000 is to be negotiated which will be paid in installments of $50,000,000 for the improvement of Chinese finances and internal works. None of it can be applied to military purposes.

Let us hope that here ends the old concession scramble in China and begins the opening of a real Open Door and Equal Opportunity both for other nationals and for the 400,000,000 of that vast Republic.

Conclusion

The Japan-China question is easy to state but more difficult to settle. Since 1868 Japanese minds have been studying history. With their marvelous patriotism born of an intense loyalty to the ruling house they have sought the secrets of national power. What they found the great nations doing is exactly what they have done. Can we of the white races sit on our thirteen millions of square miles of annexed territory, much of it forcibly conquered and now walled in, and throw stones at the imitative, ambitious Japanese? Japan' expansion, call it aggression if you like, will never be stopped by spattering ink on such subjects as "The Menace of Japan," "The Yellow Peril" or "The International Nuisance." As a big hearted Britisher said to me in Peking: "After all, the real crux of the problem is England and America. If we of the Anglo-Saxon race can develop real democracy at home and establish hon-

esty in international dealings abroad, Japan and China will follow." Mr. Obata, the much criticised Japanese minister in the Chinese capital, expressed the same opinion. Japan will watch the world tendency and conform to it. Had America promptly and generously joined the League of Nations, however imperfect the present plan may be, had the League begun a systematic, scholarly study of international problems, China would be safe. As President Wilson said to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "I have no doubt that should China make complaint to the League Council about Shantung, the Council would consider her claim promptly." (*Boston Herald*, August 20, 1919) Speaking in the Civic Auditorium at San Francisco the President restated his solution of the Eastern question: "The League offers a tribunal before which China can bring her complaint about the wrongs she has suffered for years." At another meeting on the same day Mr. Wilson explained more fully: "Under the League of Nations Japan solemnly undertakes, with the rest of us, to respect and protect the territorial integrity of China. * * * This is the first time in the history of the world that anything has been done for China. And sitting around our council board in Paris, I put this question: 'May I expect that this will be the beginning of the retrocession to China of the exceptional rights which other governments have enjoyed there?' And the responsible representatives of the other great governments said: 'Yes, you may expect it.'" (*New York Times*, September 18, 1919)

There is the solution of the whole China problem. Who is to blame for its delay? The politicians at Washington who by their party bickering and selfish, narrow Americanism have held up our active functioning in the League of Nations are of all people in the world responsible for China's plight today. Japan believes that if she does not exploit and develop China other countries will. She can point to numerous precedents. As long as England holds Hongkong and Wei Hai Wei, as long as France possesses 300,000 square miles in South China, while the Foreign Concessions in Shanghai and Tientsin and the legation fortresses of Peking continue to exist, until China can rule herself and develop her rich resources herself, and until America opens her opulent doors in a more generous way, it is only international hypocrisy that demands of Japan to give up her economic holdings on the mainland of Asia. With her growing power, Japan is determined that no other nation shall have the hegemony of that Oriental area. She also will exert her every force to make safe her access to markets and raw materials. Her purpose is fixed. But when the League of Nations is a going concern, when this world council can guarantee the political integrity of weak states and a just approach for every people to Nature's wealth and human demands, then and then only will the Japan-China question be solved.

It is probably true that Japan's policy toward China wavers with the changing atmosphere of the West. When the Powers show signs of establishing

a new system of international dealing Japan lets up in her so-called aggressions. When, on the other hand, England tightens her hold on Egypt and Persia, and France enters Syria even though, as we are told, eighty per cent of the Syrians oppose the deal, Japan puts another wedge into China. On one point, however, her policy never changes. To state it is but to repeat: Access to China's minerals and markets is an obsession from which Japan never will and never should recover. Her method of gaining this access will depend upon precedents set by her older and more powerful associates. The Japan in China problem is, therefore, up to us. Japan consciously or unconsciously has passed the buck.

Appendix A

Statements by Japanese Public Men Regarding the Return of Shantung

On the very day of the Japanese ultimatum to Germany in August, 1914, Count Okuma sent a telegram to the American press in which he said, "Japan has no territorial ambitions and hopes to stand as the protector of the peace of the Orient." On August 24, Count Okuma telegraphed to *The New York Independent* as follows:

"As Premier of Japan, I have stated and I now state to the people of America and to the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other people of anything which they now possess.

My government and my people have given their pledge, which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps promises."

On August 25, the Kokusai Tsushinsha, a Japanese news agency with close official connection with the Foreign Office, cabled the following to Europe and America: "On the highest authority Reuter's correspondent is able to state that . . . Japan will restore Kiaochow and will preserve the territorial integrity of China. . . . The ultimatum will be adhered to whether Tsingtau is taken by force or otherwise."

But note the change.

"In December, 1914, Baron Kato declared in the Diet that Japan had made 'no promise whatever with regard to the ultimate disposition of what she had acquired in Shantung. The purpose of the ultimatum to Germany was to take Kiaochow from Germany and so to restore peace in the Orient. Restitution after a campaign was not thought of and was not referred to in the ultimatum.'"

In her ultimatum to China on May 7, 1915 the Japanese Government declared

"The Imperial Japanese Government, in taking Kaiochow, made immense sacrifices in blood and money. Therefore after taking the place, there is not the least obligation . . to return the place to China."

(The above can be found in Hershey: Modern Japan, p. 300; and in Spargo: *Russia as an American Problem*, p. 170.)

Appendix B

Ultimatum issued by Japan to Germany, August 15, 1914:

"Considering it highly important and necessary in the present situation to take measures to remove all causes of disturbances to the peace of the Far East and to safeguard the general interest contemplated by the agreement of alliance between Japan and Great Britain in order to secure a firm and enduring peace in Eastern Asia, the establishment of which is the aim of the said agreement, the Imperial Japanese Government sincerely believe it their duty to give advice to the Imperial German Government to carry out the following two propositions:

To withdraw immediately from the Japanese and Chinese waters German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds and to disarm at once those which cannot be so withdrawn.

To deliver on a date not later than September 15, 1914, to the Imperial Japanese authorities without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiaochow, with a view of eventual restoration of the same to China. The Imperial Japanese Government announce at the same time that in the event of their not receiving by noon, August 23, 1914, the unconditional acceptance of the above advice offered by the Imperial Japanese Government, they will be compelled to take such action as they may deem necessary to meet the situation."

Appendix C

NON-JAPANESE FOREIGN CONCESSIONS IN CHINA

In a leaflet published by the League of the Darker Nations of the World the reading public is asked why the Chinese at Paris were so bitter against Japan's concessions in China when no demands were made for the retrocession of similar concessions by other countries. A list of a few of these was appended:

1. Russian-Belgian concession to build a railway from Ranchow to Haimon—August, 1912.
2. Russo-Mongolian Treaty—November, 1912.
3. Belgium secures silver mining concession in Hupeh Province—January, 1913.
4. Russo-Mongolian Loan Agreement—June, 1913.
5. Draft of Chino-British convention concerning Mongolia—October, 1913.
6. France acquires concession to build railways from Yunnan to Chengto in Szechuan Province—February, 1914.
7. The Standard Oil Company acquires the concession to exploit oil fields in Shensi Province—February, 1914.
8. American interests reported to have acquired a naval port on the Fukien Coast—February, 1914.
9. England acquires concession to build railway from Nanking to Changsha—March, 1914.
10. England acquires concession to build railway from Hsuchow, Honan Province, to Jengyang, Hupeh Province—May, 1914.

11. France acquires exclusive privilege to build railways and exploit mines in Kwangsi Province—September, 1914.

12. The Russo-Chinese Treaty concerning Mongolia—June, 1915.

13. American International Corporation acquires the privilege to build 1,100 miles of railways in China—October, 1916.

14. American International Corporation acquires the right to repair the Grand Canal of China—October, 1916.

15. France forcibly seizes a strip of land at Tientsin—October, 1916.

16. Chicago Continental & Commercial Bank contracts a loan of $30,000,000 to the Chinese Government—November, 1916.

17. American Bankers make agreement with China for a loan of unspecified amount—July, 1918.

(Quoted in *The Japan Review*, November, 1919)

Chapter X

JAPAN AND AMERICA

"The stars and the sun never fought in their courses; so shall America and Japan, in whose flags are embedded these symbols, never clash in their orbits."—*Viscount Ishii*.

In Manchuria fifteen years ago nearly every army officer I met remarked: "Japan owes a great debt to America. It was your Commodore Perry who roused us from our sleep and thus enabled us to stem this Russian tide. America is Japan's best friend."

The intimate relations of the past should be a prophecy of the future. An intermittent fever, however, of caustic newspaper writing on both sides of the water reveals a smouldering friction which ought to be squarely faced. An analysis of the sources of this discord will be the purpose of this chapter.

For Japan the main causes for anti-American feeling are four:

1. The suspicion that behind Mr. Harriman's proposal in September, 1905, to lease and operate the newly acquired Russian Railway in South Manchuria, and behind the Knox and similar plans mentioned in Chapter VII, was America's hand restraining Japan from the rightful fruits of her victory over Russia.

2. The similar suspicion that in China, Korea and

Siberia, America is an obstacle to the free carrying out of Japan's policies.

3. The anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast.

4. The vicious, continuous repetition in the American press of war-scare lies.

Of these four, the first is past history. The others still remain.

In America, according to Dr. Nitobe, anti-Japanese sentiment has seven origins: (1) German propoganda; (2) jealousy of Japan by British traders in China; (3) party tactics at Washington; (4) the California agitation; (5) sympathy for the Koreans; (6) the hostility of the Chinese; and (7) the idea that Japanese militarism is a menace to democracy. (Dr. Inazo Nitobe, writing from New York to a Tokyo magazine, quoted in *Japan Advertiser*, July 30, 1919) The first three may be dismissed as now out of date. The last four remain.

Condensing the above opinions we can trace the whole trouble between America and Japan to four main sources:

1. Newspaper Propaganda

Japanese newspapers in venting their irritation at America have shown more heat than logic. A few selections will suffice:

The *Nichi Nichi:* "The real reason why the United States is sympathizing with China (on the Tsingtau question) is for the purpose of promoting American ambition. The fact is that the United States is seiz-

ing every opportunity to exclude Japanese influence from China." (*Japan Advertiser*, April 20, 1919)

The *Yamato* in a serial letter to President Wilson in May, 1919, attacking him for the blocking of Japan's plans at the Peace Conference, concluded: "Mr. Wilson, if you do not reconsider and correct your attitude, the real sense and justice of the world will stigmatise you as Satan."

(*Japan Advertiser*, May 7, 1919)

The *Chuo:* "The League proposal has been brought forward to modify all the international agreements entered into before America's entry into the war. In a word, the League is an instrument to be used for fulfilling America's ambition."

(*Japan Advertiser*, May 2, 1919)

The *Yomiuri:* "America's economic policy now is directed toward the Orient and it is her ideal to make the Pacific Ocean her garden pond. America's activities in China did not begin today. . . . These economic activities have been extended to Siberia. . . . .America is endeavoring to acquire a supreme position in the world, so that she may act as a nation of authority." (*Japan Advertiser*, March 4, 1919)

Finally, the *Kokumin* gives the finishing touch: "The diplomacy of America aims at making Britain and France her servants in Europe, and Japan her slave in the Far East."

(*Japan Chronicle*, August 28, 1919)

While Japanese dailies have been pouring out unscrupulous criticism to a credulous people, American newspapers have been propagating lies to a gul-

lible public. For ten years they have been retailing under scare headlines a series of incredible yarns. Of more than twenty of these vicious, enmity provoking tales collected by Dr. Gulick in his "Anti-Japanese War Scare Stories" I will speak of the three hardest worked.

Magdalena Bay Stories

Magdalena Bay is in the Mexican peninsula called Lower California. In 1911 the story circulated that Japan had bought a naval base there. The Hearst papers insisted that 60,000 Japanese had been landed ready to strike at our west coast. To nail this rumor, Dr. David Starr Jordan made an investigation. Of the 60,000 reported by Hearst he was able to locate but six. They were all peacefully working in a Mexican canning factory. The only foreign land deal was by an American syndicate.

Six years later, in April, 1917, a letter was addressed to Congress by a Californian who "saw thousands of Japanese fishing all the morning at Magdalena Bay, Mexico, and drilling all the afternoon." He thought the number about 4,000. Dr. Gulick followed up this trail. He met the informant who acknowledged that there were not more than 200 Japanese fishermen along the whole coast, that the drilling soldiers were all in Mexican dress, and that he did not get near enough to them to see their faces. Thus went to its repose the crisis at Magdalena Bay.

Turtle Bay

In January, 1915, a Japanese war ship, the Asama, in pursuing German vessels, grounded at Turtle Bay. This also is an inlet in Lower California, 400 miles south of San Diego. The *New York Herald* of April 15th came out with a most sensational story that the Japanese were establishing a naval base. The writer "saw them there": five Japanese warships, six colliers, and supply ships, 4,000 Japanese marines and sailors in actual occupation of Turtle Bay, the harbor mined, a wireless telegraph plant in operation, patrol ships guarding the approach to the harbors, while armed men and sixty tons of ammunition were being landed.

The Washington government this time made its own investigation. Commodore Irwin of the U. S. Cruiser New Orleans visited Turtle Bay. What did he find? The Japanese cruiser aground, a repair ship with its attendant coaling boat, two British colliers and four fishing craft. This little accident to a Japanese warship chasing German raiders some writers have been malicious and childish enough to paint as a deliberate plan to intimidate the United States while Japan was negotiating the "Twenty-one Demands" with China. Imagine Japan and Great Britain attempting to terrorize America with a battleship stuck in the mud, three coal barges, a machine shop and four fishing smacks!

Japanese Troops in Mexico

The Boston Sunday Globe of January 30, 1916, stated: "There are 30,000 Japanese in Mexico organized and ready to fight at a moment's notice." In the *Forum* of the following July, Sigmund Henschen with more elastic imagination remarks: "The latest estimates of our military authorities show one-quarter of a million Japs in Mexico." What was the fact? There were in Mexico 2,737 hard-working Japanese, including 165 women. Less than 200 had received military training.

If evidence is further needed, George Kennan has collected twenty-two similar stories and Mr. Kawakami six more.

What has been the source of this wild propaganda? That Teutonic agents were behind much of it in a deliberate attempt to weaken their opponents by embroiling our two countries, is now generally believed.

Just before we declared war upon Germany our efficient secret service secured possession of the famous Zimmerman note. In this the German foreign secretary proposed a joint Mexican-Japanese attack upon the United States, and promised Mexico her old provinces in our southwest as a reward. This was suggested while we were still on friendly terms with Germany. Since the German political representatives went home the anti-Japanese story factory seems to have decreased production. The Ishii-Lansing agreement also put a quietus on the whole move-

ment. For the text of this agreement see the Appendix to this chapter. The newspaper campaign in Japan is not likely to end until the other friction-producing causes are cleared away.

2. Utterances of American Public Men

In 1919, Senator Phelan of California, before a large audience where a friend of mine was present, referred to Japan, on that very day our ally in the War, as "our insulting foe." There were many Japanese students present.

The Senate debate on the League of Nations brought out unwarranted attacks on Japan. When the properly constituted Peace Conference has disposed of the German rights in Shantung, only evil can result from heaping insults on Japan by those who disagree with the justice of the award. A clever statesmanship will at least be courteous.

The American Legion at its organization in Minneapolis passed three uncalled for resolutions aimed against Japan. They proposed abrogation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and strict exclusion of Japanese immigrants; the barring forever from American citizenship of all foreign-born Japanese; and a constitutional amendment forbidding citizenship to children of parents one or both of whom are ineligible to naturalization. A similar resolution was passed at Cleveland at the 1920 annual meeting. Such narrow "Americanism" can only aggravate international friction, and delay the Americanization

of those within our gates. Happily, Japanese public men have almost invariably maintained their courtesy when speaking on international matters.

3. The Japanese Question in California

There are in the United States 13,515,000 foreign born. Of these, including all their children, 125,195 are Japanese. (*Literary Digest*, Oct. 9, 1920, quoting statistics of the Foreign Office, Tokyo) More than half the Japanese are in the State of California. Here according to the exaggerating Mr. McClatchy of the *Sacramento Bee*, they number 109,000. (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 20, 1920) The California Board of Control decreases the figure to 86,876. The United States Census of November, 1920, which ought to be the final word, finds only 70,196. In the last ten years while the population of the state has increased from 2,377,549 to 3,426,861, the Japanese have increased from 41,357 to 70,196. Their 1.7 % of the total has grown to 2%, or an increase of $^{3}/_{10}$ of one per cent in a decade. At this rate the population of California will be half Japanese in 1650 years—not a very near disaster. But it must be acknowledged that the presence in one State of this group of alien people of different customs, habits and loyalties is a real problem.

The situation was partly met in 1907 by the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" by which Japan consented not to allow laborers to emigrate to the United States. Immigration of Japanese into continental United States promptly decreased from

30,326 in 1907 to 3,111 in 1909. From July 11, 1908, to June 30, 1919, 79,738 entered the country and 68,770 returned to Japan, the net increase by immigration being 10,968. (Dr. Sidney L. Gulick in *The New York Times*, July 14, 1920) In addition to the above, an unknown number have come in from Hawaii.

Although some general charges of an influx of laborers have been made, no concrete proof of a breach of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in a single case has been brought forward. (Prof. Treat in *American Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1920) The 10,064 immigrants of 1919 were nearly all transients of a superior type.

In 1906 there was a public stir over the California "School Question." But at the time when San Francisco propagandists were raving over the evil influence on America's future citizens of immoral Japanese pupils, there were in the public schools of that city ninety-two Japanese children. Even these were scattered among twenty different schools. Visitors found them well behaved and studious.

Much has been written of the "picture brides." We have seen these Japanese young women crowding the third class on the steamers from Japan. They are the result of marriages arranged by correspondence and go-betweens. Their stability, says Prof. Ichihashi of Leland Stanford, is very nearly one hundred per cent. Before a man is allowed to send for a bride he must get the approval of one of the Japan Societies which exist in large numbers on the Coast.

Only men of decent character who are above the class of day laborers are permitted to make these marriages. Occasionally an educated girl of good family is allured by what seems to her the wealth of her prospective groom. He has a little farm, a store, a bank account and perhaps a Ford—all signs of affluence in Japan. But when she marries she finds herself attached, to be sure, to the bank account and the flivver, but also to a man who proves to be a rough, uncouth mate. Months of hard adaptation follow. But the result, says Prof. Ichihashi, is usually the remaking of the man. Proud and happy in his new home, he yields to the influence of his treasured wife, new furniture is bought, the gramaphone plays, new clothes appear, and refinement wins. From 1912-1918 the number of such brides arriving in San Francisco has averaged 658 per year. But because of the anti-Japanese outburst in 1919 the Japanese government decided to stop giving passports to these girls. Prospective grooms will in future be obliged to cross the sea to claim their mates.

The handling of the land question in California has caused serious offense to the Japanese. In January, 1913, forty-anti-Japanese bills were introduced into the California legislature. These produced a fever of excitement in Japan. In the following May the Heney-Webb land bill was passed. This provides that aliens ineligible for citizenship cannot buy land and may only lease land for agricultural purposes for a term not to exceed three years. It was a great blow to Japanese farmers who in 1919 pro-

duced on the west coast crops valued at $53,000,000. The Referendum Measure which passed on November 2, 1920, by a majority of nearly three to one again seems to all Japanese a piece of grave injustice. This new law contains three main provisions:

(1) It stops further leasing of land to persons ineligible to citizenship.

(2) It deprives Japanese parents of the guardianship of a child in whose name agricultural property is held. An American guardian must be appointed.

(3) Aliens ineligible to citizenship are forbidden to purchase stock in a company entitled to own agricultural land.

Land in California actually cultivated by Japanese in 1919 was as follows:

Ownership acreage	74,769
Tenant acreage	383,287
Total	458,056

In a State of 99,000,000 acres the 74,000 owned by the Japanese is relatively small. (Report of the State Board of Control, June, 1920) One writer estimates that at the rate they are acquiring real estate, the Japanese will own the whole State in 84,450 years. (Prof. Treat in *American Review of Reviews*, January 1920)

The land legislation was unjust, impolitic and unnecessary. Our treaty signed with Japan in February, 1911, stipulates: "The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall receive

in the territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens." Whether the California Land Laws of 1913 and 1920, which prevent the Japanese from purchasing, inheriting or leasing land, are technically a treaty violation or not, their spirit is entirely contrary to the agreement. The Japanese rightly believe they have not had a fair deal.

In the decline of white births in his state from 98% of the total in 1906 to 90.6% of the total in 1917, and in the increase of Japanese babies from 134 to 4,108 in the same period, Senator Phelan thinks he sees a prophecy of the near Japanization of the West Coast. (*North American Review*, September 1919) Some fearful Californian has even figured that if the present high birth rate among the Japanese keeps up there will be in 1963 a total Japanese population in the United States of 2,000,000; in 2003, 10,000,000; in 2063, 100,000,000. If this prophet were a historian he would know that a little more than a hundred years ago the birth rate of those Americans who are now scarcely reproducing themselves was such that had those families of twelve and fifteen children been maintained the population of America would now equal the total for the whole globe. The birth rate fear is born of ignorance.

Proposals have been made to amend the Federal Constitution providing that no child born of parents ineligible to citizenship shall be considered an Amer-

ican citizen. It has been even seriously proposed to deport all Japanese residents of this country without regard to their charater or conduct. The shame of such a suggestion burns deep when it is known that our court records are practically free from Japanese names. They are an industrious, frugal, self-respecting, law-abiding people.

In refusing in 1919 to call a special session of the State Legislature to deal with the Japanese problems, Governor Stephens of California wisely said: "No one disputes the sovereign right of this State to enact all domestic legislation which its welfare dictates. At the same time, in this crisis, when the passions of all peoples are almost at the breaking point, it would be folly to intensify our national difficulties. In a calmer time, when these questions shall have been disposed of, when we ourselves shall be equipped with definite information and can act wisely, the problem of the Japanese in our California life is one that should yield readily to the legislative genius of our people."

The problem is not met by heaping indignities upon the Japanese who are here. While carrying on a nation-wide campaign of Americanization on the one hand, on the other proposals are made to shut out the people within our gates from the possibility of becoming Americans. Loudly acclaiming that Japanese are not assimilible, and then making laws to segregate their children in schools, to prevent them from being naturalized, and to keep them from accumulating property is not good American sense.

Why not study the influence of Japanese children in the schools, the conduct of the present citizens of Japan extraction and the real conditions in the fifty homes of mixed marriage? The genuine investigations thus far made by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick and others favor efforts to assimilate the Japanese already here and the making of laws admitting each year a few Japanese, say a number equal to five per cent of those who have already become citizens. Some plan like this would, we believe, solve the real problem here and remove all cause of offence in Japan.

Mention should be made of the Japanese in Hawaii. They number 106,000 of the population of 256,000. While the birthrate for the territory is 36.7 per 1,000, the Japanese is 42.8 per 1,000. As the total of the Caucasian races is only 42,000, the Japanese born citizens seem likely to control the political destinies of the Islands.

Professor Treat, referring to the problem in Hawaii and on the mainland, adds: "There is only one way out. While restricting immigration in a polite and seemly way we should do everything possible to make the Orientals in this country and in Hawaii loyal American citizens. If history teaches us anything, it should help us to avoid the creation of a Poland or Alsace or a Korea within our limits."

When in 1915 I was crossing the Pacific on a Japanese boat from Seattle there was a burial at sea. An old Japanese laborer had taken passage, hoping to spend his declining years in the homeland. But tuberculosis claimed him. As we lowered into the

sea that flag-enshrouded casket, I wondered what comforts that toil worn body had contributed to the people of my native land. It is these rough laborers from south Japan who have done much of the hard work in our West. Now that Japan has done her part to stop the inflow of excessive numbers let us show our gratitude to those who remain, not by condemning their ignorance but by molding their character into that of true Americans.

Prince Yamagata, one of the Elder Statesmen of Japan, remarked to Gregory Mason: "Of course we can say nothing which concerns the sovereign rights of another nation to its territory, but it seems to me strange that a country such as yours, which sets great store by the principles of humanity and equality of human rights, should vary its treatment of aliens according to races." (*The Outlook*, Sept. 3, 1919)

4. American Opposition to Japan's Policies

Japanese-American diplomacy has always been conducted in a courteous, amicable manner.

Elihu Root, in an after dinner speech in honor of Viscount Ishii said: "For many years I was very familiar with our own department of Foreign Affairs. During all that period there never was a moment when the Government of Japan was not frank, sincere, friendly and most solicitous not to enlarge but to minimize and do away with all causes of controversy. . . . I wish for no better, no more frank and friendly intercourse between my country and any

other country than the intercourse by which Japan in those years illustrated the best qualities of the new diplomacy." (Dr. Treat, *A League of Nations*, p. 441, 442)

Ambassador Roland S. Morris on his arrival in Boston on June 1, 1920, remarked: "The relationships between Japan and this country are most cordial. In fact, never has there been such a fine and friendly feeling between the nations." (*Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 1, 1920)

Nevertheless, Japan's fear that in America she has a real hindrance to her policies on the Asiatic mainland is well grounded. This cannot be smothered in after-dinner speeches. The situation should not be side-stepped. The unselfish policies as enunciated by President Wilson are contrary to the policies of a large group in Japan today. A great majority of the Japanese still doubt whether they are the real American policies.

There have been, we must acknowledge, abundant grounds for their suspicion of the genuine altruism of the American people. Our failure, following the War, to act promptly on behalf of Armenia and the unsettled areas in Europe, the inaction at Washington and the utter provincialism of many prominent legislators, the oft-recurring proposals for anti-Oriental legislation and the confusion of our policies in Siberia have been hard to understand. Japanese fear, too, lest the vast commercial interests of the United States, by foul means if necessary, may crowd their commerce from its fair development in China and other

parts of Asia. They may well ask why we oppose their country in doing to China in the twentieth century what we did to Mexico in the nineteenth, and what some European nations are still doing. An American recently back from the East jocosely answers this question: "For decades Japan watched the European nations at their poker games. Finally, when she got up her courage to go in and play too, the others all said, 'Let's play parchesi.'"

Will there ever be war with Japan? For the present, No! The two million soldiers in Europe, the sight of vast ship yards, munition plants and the movement of war supplies on an incredible scale have resulted in a greatly enhanced respect tinged with fear for America. A week before the armistice I was chatting with a bright Japanese Colonel on a station platform in the heart of Siberia.

"How many American soldiers are in France?" he asked.

I returned the question: "How many do you think?"

"About 700,000, I suppose."

There were actually three times his estimate.

This story I told to a young Japanese interpreter some weeks later as illustrative of the surprise that must have come over Japanese military men when they knew the facts. My friend laughed as he said:

"The colonel didn't really believe there were 700,000 Americans in France. He put the number high just to flatter you. Our officers at the time, I used to hear them discussing it, believed that America

had sent across 350,000 men, and that the big figures given out were for German consumption. When they came to know the truth, they were simply amazed."

Huge military equipment will never, however, create good relations between Japan and America. The two countries can be brought into full harmony only by coöperation and by friendship. The consortium in China and the League of Nations will develop international federated effort. A continuous interchange of friendly visitors will promote that personal intimacy which will enable the influential people of each country to meet each other and freely exchange opinions. Not at big state dinners but in informal interviews and before small groups where no press publicity will be given, Japanese are glad to converse with great frankness. With them public criticism cuts to the quick, but private suggestion is always welcome. In growing friendships between Americans and Japanese we shall find the one safe solution of all our problems.

Appendix to Chapter X

A. Ishii-Lansing Agreement of November 2, 1917

Secretary Lansing to Viscount Ishii:

Department of State
Washington, November 2, 1917

Excellency:

I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent

conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired, and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurance of the Imperial Japanese Government that, while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "open door," or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are

opposed to the acquisition by any government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have Your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING

His Excellency Viscount KIKUJIRO ISHII, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan, on Special Mission.

B. Letter from Premier Hara

Official Residence of the Premier
Kojimachiku, Tokyo
May 29, 1919

My dear Mr. Gleason:

It gave me great pleasure to see you here the other day, and hear of the efforts you made ever since your arrival in this country in fostering the amicable relation between your country and my own, as well as of the impressions produced upon you during your recent journey through Siberia and Korea. It is not an easy task for a stranger to engage upon any work in a strange land, not to speak of the difficulty in acquiring the language, yet with singleness of purpose and ceaseless devotion to the cause you have es-

poused, you have achieved considerable success in giving effect to the noble end you had in view, and now on the eve of your departure for your homeland after nearly twenty years stay in our midst, you may with pride look upon the fruits of your onerous, yet successful work, which, I assure you, will go a long way towards consolidating the bond of amity and good will now uniting our two countries.

Being always pleased to see anything done towards bringing about better understanding between America and Japan, I am happy to convey to you hereby the expression of my deep appreciation of the single-minded efforts you have thus put forward in the interest of our two countries.

I Am

Yours truly,
(Signed) HARA

Mr. George Gleason
Honorary Secretary of the YMCA.
Osaka

Chapter XI

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

"The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their governments; the future to those who prove themselves true friends of mankind."—*President Wilson*

The secrets of the future have their roots in the past. Can we find in history a key to unlock the doors of future Japan? The Imperial Rescript, the Magna Carta of the Japanese Empire, promulgated by the sixteen year-old Emperor at his Restoration to power in 1868, gives the hint we seek:

1. An Assembly widely convoked shall be established, and all affairs of State decided by impartial discussion.

2. All administrative matters of State shall be conducted by the coöperative efforts of the governing and the governed.

3. All the people shall be given opportunity to satisfy their legitimate desires.

4. All absurd usages shall be abandoned, and justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions.

5. Knowledge and learning shall be sought for all over the world, and thus the foundations of the imperial polity be greatly strengthened.

For fifty-two years these Five Articles have steered the Ship of State. True to Article One, the Constitu-

tion, after twenty-one years of study, was finally adopted in 1889, and the Diet convened in the following year. For thirty years, it must be admitted, this Parliament has been little more than a debating society where the Government's policies were "discussed." The "Government" was the little group of Elder Statesmen like Saigo, Okubo, Ito, Matsukata, Yamagata, Inoue, Okuma, Katsura, and Terauchi, who made every important decision. Meanwhile the younger generation was getting its training. How marvelously successful this policy! Instead of the abrupt change from autocracy to pure democracy, which we have seen so disastrously attempted in the empires of the Manchus and the Czar, Japan has made a gradual evolution. From the dictatorship of the *Shogun* she has passed through the rule of a little group of oligarchs, until now she is emerging through the Hara régime of semi-democracy into the real rule of the people. A party leader as premier, the extension of the franchise in March, 1919, the vigorous demand for universal male suffrage in the spring of 1920, the evident desire of the government to give power to the people as fast as they are educated to its use, all point along the democratic road. From the rule of the one through the rule of a group to the rule of all; for this her compulsory universal education has well prepared Japan. What nation has made such progress with so little anguish and friction?

Will the people be satisfied with this slow advance? It is conceivable that a dramatic change may suddenly

take place and the genuine authority of the people in political matters be established. The movement will, however, probably be gradual. Power will be fought for and through the conflict for possession there will be developed the capacity for use, which could not be gained in any other way.

Of the "absurd usages" mentioned in Charter Article Four many doubtless still remain. But the experiences on returning home of every one who has visited long in Japan is the same. Dear old America and England have their absurd usages too. Japan by comparison is not so bad.

"Knowledge and learning shall be sought for all over the world." Witness the stream of students which for forty years has flowed to every civilized land, and the foreign magazines and books which flood the stores. If "blessed are the poor in spirit" means that prosperity comes to open minds, Japan is fulfilling the prophecies of *Holy Writ*.

If anyone is apprehensive about the future of Japan he should bear in mind these three points growing out of the Five Promises of the young Meiji Tenno: Democracy is *still* evolving, foolish customs are being abolished, and the acquisitiveness of the nation makes Japan always open to molding influences from abroad. These are the keys of the future. Let us study some details:

1. Economic

"From earth to heaven at one bound" was the heading in a Japanese newspaper describing the

marriage of a merchant's widow to the President of the United States. This paragraph might receive the same title. From poverty to wealth during four years—this is the economic story of Japan. Financial flurries like that of the spring of 1920 will occur, but they will only temper the economic advance.

Only a few years ago Japanese writers were sadly mourning their country's plight. The great national debt of a thousand million dollars was mounting and the crowding population gaining at the rate of over 700,000 a year. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, and America were closed to emigrants. Only seventeen per cent of the mountainous islands are under cultivation. None of the soil is rich sea bottoms like that of China or America, but sandy products of old shales and granites requiring the most intense and persistent fertilizing. Three hundred and fifty-seven persons to the square mile, while in fertile California there were only twenty. A national wealth of thirty billion dollars, while at that time England's was eighty and America's one hundred and eighty-seven. Six years ago through excess of imports and payment of interest on foreign loans the Empire was running in debt during prosperous peace times at the rate of Y180,000,000 a year. Only an excess of exports could save the country from bankruptcy. Redemption has finally come. The War, while leading the West to bankruptcy has freed Japan. Her excess of exports in the four years 1915-1918 was Yen 1,408,068,000. This does not include the sale

of government munitions, the figures of which some place even higher than the above. All her foreign loans can now be met.

National Foreign Debt, Dec. 31, 1917 (*Japan Year Book*)	Y1,370,207,000
Municipal Debts, March, 1916. (*Japan Year Book*, 1919, p. 624)	191,359,000
Company Debts, 1912 (*Japan Mail*, May 4, 1912)	151,250,000
	Y1,712,816,000

In July, 1918, Japan's credit account abroad was Y1,500,000,000 (*Japan Year Book*, 1918, p. 618), or almost enough to liquidate her whole foreign obligations. If we add to these foreign credits the Y285,-190,000 increase in gold at home made up to the end of November, 1918, we find more than enough to clean the whole account. (*Japan Advertiser*, Dec. 29, 1918) Furthermore, total gold holdings of the Empire on January, 1920, were Y1,950,000,000 or sufficient to pay all foreign bills and still leave Y250,000,-000 in the banks.

Japan during the War has approximately doubled her manufacturing capacity, paid for the factory machinery, and, as shown above, has gold collateral for all her outside debts. Is it to be wondered at that her bankers and merchants look with confidence to the future?

Remembering that Japan has more than enough to pay her creditors, compare her finances with the debts in the West:

Italy	$10,359,275,000
Austria-Hungary	25,731,619,000
United States	26,194,997,000
France	34,842,993,000
United Kingdom	37,769,000,000
Germany	40,000,000,000
Japan	1,233,859,000 (foreign and domestic)

(*World Almanac*)

Where can one now find a sounder national finance?

(1) *Foreign Trade*

	Total Imports and Exports
1890	Yen 138,332,000
1900	491,691,000
1905	810,057,000
1910	922,622,000
1913 (before the War)	1,361,891,000
1916	1,883,896,000
1917	2,638,816,000
1918	3,630,244,000
1919	4,271,000,000

Noticing the steady pre-War growth, amounting to an increase of ten times in the twenty-three years 1890-1913 and remembering Japan's nearness to the huge markets of the Asiatic mainland, the Vice-President of the Federal Export Corporation of New York may well say: "Japan, commercially, hasn't even started yet." (Quoted in *Japan Advertiser*, March 10, 1918)

(2) *Growth of Steamship Companies*

	July, 1914	*Sept., 1919*
Nippon Yusen Kaisha.....	251,900 tons	418,000 tons
Osaka Shosen Kaisha.....	50,000 "	218,000 "
Toyo Kisen Kaisha.....	72,000 "	96,000 "

The total tonnage of Japanese steam and sailing vessels

In 1903 was less than	1,000,000
In 1914	2,090,269
In 1920 nearly	3,000,000

Compared with the merchant marine of 46 ships and 17,494 tons in 1871 this is truly a remarkable growth.

Twenty-five years ago the tonnage entering and leaving Japanese ports was 2,000,000. In 1915, it was 27,000,000.

(3) *Postal Savings*

	March, 1915	*Dec., 1918*	*Dec., 1919*	*May, 1920*
Deposits...	Y191,504,182	Y554,984,729	Y689,245,991	Y749,875,390
Depositors.	11,978,864	19,238,395	21,957,659	23,011,788

In the Post Office Bank alone depositors doubled and deposits quadrupled in five years. This speaks distinctly of the prosperity among the common people.

(4) *Railroads*

Government railways control 6,040 miles and private roads 1,820. This total of 7,860 compared with the 266,381 in the United States seems small. But by contrast with China's 6,467 miles among a population seven times as great, Japan is well to the front. The crowded condition of trains can be

imagined from the 100% increase since 1914 in the passenger traffic. Fares have been doubled. (*Japan Chronicle*, Feb. 5, 1920) Improvements are constantly being made. Where traffic is heaviest four tracks are already laid and plans for six have been announced.

(5) *Banks and Insurance*

There were in 1916, 2,143 banks with 3,731 branches. The deposits amounted to Yen 3,816,476,000. (*Japan Year Book*, 1918) In my city, Osaka, the banking business grew in four years as follows:

	1914	*1918*
No. banks and branches	107	158
Paid-up capital.....	Y49,113,862	Y115,692,500
Deposits.....	Y232,705,750	Y1,323,102,790
Loans.....	Y315,891,280	Y1,148,616,289
Bills of Exchange.....	Y3,001,303,055	Y17,800,399,540

A gain of 400 or 500 per cent!

In 1917 the insurance companies numbered 40 Life, 22 Fire, 17 Marine, 17 others. The life insurance companies carried 1,849,000 policies valued at Y1,130,346,000; while the fire companies' policies numbered 1,109,000 with a face value of Y1,808,753,000.

(6) *Conclusion*

Pre-War estimates of Japan's economic status are already hopelessly antiquated. In one of the most scholarly recent books (*Contemporary Politics*

in the Far East, p. 174), Stanley K. Hornbeck estimated in January, 1916, that the national debt of Japan weighed upon her citizens eight times as heavily as that in the United States. While the per capita wealth of Japan ($363) was only one fourth that of the United States ($1525),the debt per capita in the former country ($20) was twice that of the latter ($10). But notice the change. While the debt of the United States has in five years increased twenty-six times, Japan's has actually decreased. The tables are entirely reversed.

Although the cost of living in the Island Empire has risen nearly 200 per cent, and the price of rice, the staple food, more than trebled, wages in most cases have met the advance.

With figures like these before us, often rising into the billions, with her forests of smoking chimneys, with her steamers plying every sea, with her great firms reaching out for raw products and trade in every land, and with two-thirds of the undeveloped resources of the earth in the lands bordering the ocean in which her islands lie, an economic place in the sun is assured for Japan.

2. Social

In the report prepared in the summer of 1918 for the Federated Missions Conference at Karuizawa, the opening paragraph reads:

"The convincing facts regarding social conditions in Japan today must rouse decision to meet these vast problems with new methods and a new zeal.

The doubling of factories in the last four years, with their army of laborers, the tens of thousands of morally ill-prepared young women thrust out into commercial and industrial life, and the confessed irreligion of the industrial workers of the nation is the first appeal. The destitute families, 30,700 in Tokyo alone; growing out of this destitution the slavery of little girls; the 81,000 persons who die yearly from preventable tuberculosis; the 56,000 languishing in prisons, and the 1,200,000 Eta bring another group of appeals. Finally, the growth in the consumption of alcohol, which in two years increased twice as much as in the previous eight, and the vast army of nearly 100,000 publicly licensed prostitutes and geisha for whose degrading service the nation is paying Y54,500,000 a year, make us question whither we are tending. For every even nominal Christian in our churches the government has licensed one active woman of evil influence to tear down what we are building up."

(1) *Labor*

Industrially, Japan is rushing pell mell into the same social maze from which England and America are trying to extricate themselves. In thirty years, factory laborers have increased from 25,000 to 2,500,000. The country has been changed from an agrarian to an industrial State. The demands of the urban factories have been such that even three years ago an Osaka paper printed a cartoon of a foreman standing on a hill overlooking all Japan shouting

through his megaphone: "To Osaka, to Osaka!" Men and women have been attracted by the thousands, even from Korea. The man consumption of the big industrial plants, by absorbing surplus population, has temporarily if not permanently silenced the plea for territorial expansion.

The long hours of labor, regularly eleven in cotton mills and fourteen and even sixteen in the silk mills, the low wages, the lack of care of employees, have developed a restlessness which has broken out in strikes and sabotage. As Government and industrial leaders have poured abroad since the signing of the Armistice, the solution of the problem will doubtless be similar to that worked out in Europe and America.

Why a paternal government like Japan should wait for the evils of child labor, woman's labor, long hours, unsanitary factories, congested houses and slums to show themselves has been a puzzling question. But this seeming lack of foresight is plainly due to the conviction that the people can be sacrificed for the nation. The government late in the last century looked out upon the world and saw the necessity of gaining material wealth. Hence the seeming disregard of the exploitation of labor. Subsidies have been given to the great shipping companies, and favors shown to cotton mills and such industrial and commercial houses as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Kuhara, Okura, and Sumitomo. Now Japan is a creditor nation and the surplus population has been cared for, the Government is turning its attention to the welfare of the working man.

"Will there be a revolution?" is a question frequently asked. Professor Dewey replies: "My own confidence in the resilience, adaptability, and practical intelligence of the Japanese people, as well as in a kind of social democracy which is embodied in their manners and customs, makes me think the change will come without a bloody and catastrophic upheaval." (*The Dial*, Nov. 1, 1919)

(2) *Prostitution*

Prostitution is the great blot on Japanese morals. The fact of 50,000 licensed prostitutes (not including geisha) in the segregated districts of the Empire, the fact of one licensed prostitute to every 259 male residents in Tokyo, to every 130 in Osaka, and to every 47 at Yamada, the seat of the Ise Shinto Shrine, shows how deeply intrenched this vice is. Hardly a city on the Asiatic Coast of the Pacific has escaped the invasion of the procurers of these poor semi-slave girls. It is estimated that 26,360 Japanese women are living as prostitutes outside their own land. (Brown: *Mastery of the Pacific*, p. 381)

Three times in Osaka and once in Tokyo an organized fight against the "system" has been made and the developing popular opinion will ere long, we believe, forever end government-allowed prostitution.

(3) *Charity and Relief*

The Red Cross claims a membership of 1,758,051. It spent in 1916 three million yen and owns property valued at Y34,305,000. Including hospitals, orphan-

ages, nurseries, reform homes, and various relief institutions, there are nearly 700 charity organizations in the Empire. In 1914, the government recognized the worth of 117 charitable institutions by granting a small amount of State aid. The whole movement for social service has been greatly influenced by the work of missionaries.

(4) *The Woman Question*

A cultured Japanese woman is one of the finest representatives of her sex. Lafcadio Hearn would tell us that she is the product of many centuries of oppression. The jump from the teaching of the Japanese moralist Kaibara (1630-1714) to the present is a wide one. In *The Greater Learning for Women*, he sums up the womanly and wifely virtues as follows: "It is the chief duty of a girl living in the parental house to practice filial piety toward her mother and father, but after marriage her chief duty is to honor her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to honor them beyond her own father and mother, to love and reverence them with all ardor, and to tend them with every practice of filial piety. . . . She must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The great life-long duty of a woman is obedience."

Under the old Japanese law a woman could not herself demand a divorce, become head of a house, hold property, contract in her own name, or even become the guardian of her own child. But under

the new civil code, a married woman may hold property in her own name, and she may seek a divorce from her husband for bigamy, adultery, or such treatment as makes living together unbearable, and for various other causes.

Young couples are breaking away from the old homes and where they can afford it setting up their own establishments. Many parents even seek to marry their daughters not to the influential eldest son of another family where the duties will be onerous and the life bound by custom but to the younger sons, deliberately sacrificing social standing to greater freedom for individual development.

Only a few years ago the first successful breach of promise suit was won by a woman. Married in April, 1911, Miss Hide Nogawa was divorced the very next month "owing to some estrangement between her husband and the go-between for the marriage." After dragging the suit through three courts she finally obtained damages for Y20,000, "the court thus setting a precedent for similar cases in the future."

In 1917 *The Yomiuri* newspaper in Tokyo published a brochure describing no less than sixty-five different occupations in which women were engaged. Besides the million female operatives in factories (the official figure for 1916 was 636,699—*Japan Year Book*, 1918, p. 303), the Tokyo daily found 4,000 working for the Government Railway and 6,000 in the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau. Women are working in the banks, at the telephones, in the retail stores, and at the typewriter. Women journal-

ists, women novelists, and women doctors and social workers are rapidly increasing.

Add to the above the westernizing process going on among the men, the elevating influence of Christianity, and the reports of the extension of women's suffrage in Europe and America, and it becomes plain that emancipation of women in Japan is not far away. The rise of women to equality with men while slower than in the West is now in sight.

3. Education

The Diet of 1919 voted Y44,000,000 for new colleges and professional schools. The Emperor added Y10,000,000 more, and it is expected that localities will contribute Y20,000,000, making a new fund of Y74,000,000 all for higher education for men. Thus Japan lays the foundation for an intelligent future.

Government reports state that in 1916 of the children legally under obligation to go to school, 99% of the boys and 98% of the girls were actually in attendance. Universal education of elementary grade is achieved in Japan.

In the same year, 8,540,000 pupils were enrolled in the schools and colleges. Of these 7,450,000 were in the elementary grades. Of the remaining million, the secondary schools claimed 250,000; the technical high schools and colleges more than 500,000; while the balance were in the public and private universities and miscellaneous schools.

A comparison with America shows that while our

population is only double that of Japan, our schools enroll 23,854,890. Of these 20,560,701 are in elementary grades, and 1,611,196 in secondary schools. We seem to have less in the technical high schools and many times more in colleges and universities.

While even in the remote country districts of Japan there are elementry schools sufficient to accommodate all scholars, and every family is watched to see that the children enter and finish the required six years, the secondary schools, colleges and universities are far too few. In the country as a whole, of applicants to secondary schools forty per cent are rejected for lack of accommodation. To some of the best government schools of this grade the applicants are eight or even ten times the number that can matriculate. In 1915, of those who applied to the eight university fitting schools (the so-called "Higher Schools") only 21.73% were admitted. For the Tokyo school those who passed the stiff examinations were only 15.57%. This of course means that a student who gets by the three entrance examinations of the secondary and higher schools and the university is a selected man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the graduates of the Imperial Universities rise to positions of national leadership. The four Imperial Universities in 1916 graduated 2,402 Masters of Art or scholars of similar grade.

Critics of Japan's schools say that they are theoretical, and do not prepare for life. Until a year or two ago even in the higher schools, political discussions were taboo and attendance of students in their

uniform at political meetings was forbidden. John Dewey stigmatizes the lower grades as "the most incredibly reactionary system of primary education the world has ever known." (*The Dial*, Oct. 4, 1919) The system is one for all Japan. Children are fed into the machine, ground through the unbending curriculum and turned out with little opportunity for individual variation. Experiments, even in private schools, have been largely suppressed.

In a recent backward looking report by the Special Committee on Education appointed by the government, we find the key to a conservative future. (A summary can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.) To appreciate its real significance, one should read this remarkable document standing in the roaring machine shop of some Japanese technical school. The Island Empire is on the one hand introducing bodily modern science and industrialism and on the other hand attempting to preserve "immutable and unaffected" the "ideals of national organization and national morality." It is an impossible proposition. But the result will be, the writer believes, the development of a powerful modern nation, true to the best in itself and elective of the best from the other nations of the world. Call her reactionary if you will, criticise the unprogressive language of this post-War educational commission, but remember that in this seeming return to the past Japan is with care storing up for the use of the West, when we are humble enough to turn to the East with open minds, the treasures of twenty-six centuries of unbroken history.

4. Army and Navy

Until the League of Nations is a going concern, until England and America take the lead in reducing armaments, until the nations of Europe give sufficient evidence of intention to play the international game by the new rules of unselfishness, sympathy and racial justice, Japan will strengthen her military power on land and sea as rapidly as her exchequer will stand. To her army and navy Japan owes her rise as a world power. When her progress on the mainland was threatened in 1894 by China, it was her military forces that saved her. They rescued her again from the Russian Bear in 1904-05. The victories of Port Arthur, Mukden, and Tsushima put Japan on the map. Pragmatically, the mailed fist has worked. Japan will take no chances. Her army has grown from a standing force of less than a hundred thousand twenty years ago to over 200,000 men.

The Navy, which after the China War in 1898 consisted of 162,181 tons, jumped in 1905 at the close of the Russian War to 370,000 tons (*Japan Weekly Mail*, Jan. 20, 1906) and in 1917 to 650,000 tons. (*Japan Year Book* 1918 p. 419) According to newspaper reports naval authorities are proposing 215 new vessels to be built in the next seven years at a cost of Y764,000,000. Of these seventy-five are to be submarines. In the proposed budget for 1920 of a total of Y1,275,944,000, one half or Y619,496,000 is recommended for the Army and Navy.

5. Characteristics

The celebrated Prince of Mito had cast for the members of his household a number of small brass images of farmers in their working clothes, which, placed on their food trays while they ate, reminded them of the toil of those who provided them with food.

As my wife and two children were one day walking up the hill from the railroad station to my house near Osaka, a Japanese gentleman with a large parcel caught up with them and asked them to stop. He put his bundle on the ground and took out presents for each of the children. He was an entire stranger.

Coming home from church one Sunday six years ago, we rode between stations on the crowded Tokyo express. As the children got off the train a Japanese handed my youngest daughter a basket of beautiful apples. As I had to ride on further I spoke to the man and found that he was a Japanese settler in southern California and had been home to Okayama for a visit.

At Dairen during the return of the troops from the Russo-Japanese War my little girl, three years old, was out walking with her nurse. She carried in her hand a small Japanese flag. A company of sight-seeing troopers came walking by. When the captain spied the little American child waving a Japanese flag, he halted his men, ordered them to salute and marched on.

Dr. Nitobe says that a Japanese *feels* like a woman and *thinks* like a man.

A Tokyo newspaper, *The Yorodzu*, says that the Peace Conference has revealed six defects in Japan's civilization: (1) Lack of the understanding of democracy; (2) ignorance of the value of labor; (3) doubtful capacity for colonial administration; (4) lack of sympathy for the causes of the war; (5) weakness of the spirit of racial competition; (6) lack of improvement in commercial morality.

Dr. Hamilton Wright Mabie, on leaving Japan, gave as some of his permanent impressions of the country: (1) The extraordinary courtesy and attention of his audiences; (2) the eagerness for information; (3) their intellectual curiosity; (4) mental alertness; (5) efficiency; and (6) devotion to the Imperial Houses.

What are the characteristics in her people which will influence future Japan? I should answer: (1) Alertness to discover the secret of all kinds of power; (2) sound judgment in selecting the best from all the world; (3) reticence, or the ability not to talk too much but to listen; (4) diligence, or the absolute lack of laziness; (5) love of nature; (6) cheerfulness and optimism; (7) respect for authority; and (8) a wonderful devotion to the welfare of the State. This last has almost entirely eliminated bribery in government affairs and kept the common people contentedly following the lead of the builders of the Empire.

6. Religion

Will Japan's 72,000 Buddhist temples and 120,000 Shinto Shrines, the former served by 50,000 and the latter by 15,000 priests, furnish the moral leaven for her high speed economic development and world expansion? The problem has been well expressed by Professor John Dewey:

"Japan is trying an impossible experiment. . . . While it has borrowed wholesale the entire scientific and industrial technique of the West, with extraordinary toughness and tenacity it has managed somehow to conserve the feudal and even barbaric morals and politics of the warrier. But no nation can enduringly live a double life; Japan shows everywhere the strain of this split." (*The Dial*, Oct. 4, 1919)

Dr. Robert E. Speer once said: "The Japanese are the one Asiatic people capable of assimilating Western civilization and doing the same things Western nations have done. At the same time she has preserved her racial integrity and a part at least of her old manners."

With Bushido, the Way of the Knight, which has made those splendid old-style Japanese gentlemen, with the moral code of Confucius, with the philosophy of the twelve Buddhist sects, and with the intense nationalism of Shinto, Christian evangelism must take account. Missionaries who wish to more than scratch the surface will delve into the life and spirit of old Japan eager to preserve what is true and universal and determined to unite the Christian truth with any vital life they may find.

Christianity has already made a deep impress on the nation. Including Greek and Roman Catholics there are nearly a quarter of a million communicants. But outside the church membership there are thousands, some would say hundreds of thousands, who are approaching the Christian standards. Even the non-Christian religions are feeling the influence. Buddhist "YMCA's," as one society was called, and Buddhist Sunday Schools, prayer meetings, and preaching services are springing up.

While we must admit that there are no signs of a mass movement towards the Christian church, every missionary and Japanese Christian will insist that some day Christ will claim Japan as His. But whether the process will be only by a tearing down of the old religions and the building of a new Christian church, or the slower Christianizing of the religions already there until centuries hence they will deliberately join the Christian fold, who can tell? At present both processes are going on. In either case let friends of Japan remember the words of the Master: "Without me ye can do nothing."

7. World Expansion

"No nation has the right to set up special interests against the interests and benefits of mankind."

—President Wilson

An English teacher new to Japan, wishing to start some interesting conversation, asked his class: "What is needed to make Japan great?" A student promptly raised his hand, and when called on re-

plied: "Sir, Japan already is the greatest nation in the world."

Lord Elgin, when leaving Japan's shores after the conclusion of his Treaty and one year prior to her opening to the world in 1859, described Japan as "a land with a perfectly paternal Government, a perfectly filial people; a community entirely self-supporting; peace within and without; no want; no ill will between classes. This is what I find in Japan in the year 1858 after two hundred years' exclusion of foreign trade and foreigners. Twenty years hence what will be the contrast?" (Quoted by Joseph H. Longford in *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1919)

In a little more than one generation Japan has converted herself from an international zero into an acknowledged World Power. From a population of 33,000,000 and a territory of 136,000 square miles, in fifty years she has grown to 77,000,000 people occupying 260,738 square miles.

In 1920 the population of Japan proper was		55,961,140
	Formosa.....	3,654,398
	Saghalien.....	105,765
	Korea.....	17,284,207
	Total.....	77,005,510
The area of Japan is		148,756 square miles
Korea		84,173
Formosa and other provinces		27,809
Total		260,738

Almost bankrupt at times, she now is financially among the strongest nations. For a time torn by internal discord and ruled by a bureaucratic and narrow-minded aristocracy, she is evolving a strong centralized government on modern constitutional principles. Her people are fully conscious of their constitutional rights and expert in the most advanced scientific attainments of Europe. Patriotism and restless ambition still drive them on. Her ships roam every sea, her traders have their shops in every land. At no future international table will her seat be empty. From a study of the past and the present, her future expansion seems as sure as the rising of the sun. The only anxious question we need ask is: Will it be bloody or peaceful? There are grounds for fear. Military men with feverish zeal have been studying the causes of the rise and fall of nations. Army officers of the General Staff have been hungrily reading and translating works on international politics. Too many books from the West have told them that the only road to national greatness is through military force. "After victory tighten the helmet strings" wrote one of their great heroes. This they did after every great war and they are doing it now. Homer Lea has pointed out how Japan has been intrenching herself in the East from the ice of the Arctic circle to the fiery heat of the equator. Her guns watch the coast of all Asia. Saghalin and Hokkaido on the north guard the approaches to Kamchatka and the rich Amur Basin. Korea, Port Arthur and Tsingtau control the entrances to the vast undeveloped wealth

of northern China. Kyushu and Formosa look out on the Yangtse Valley and the approaches to Hongkong and Canton; while in the Marshall and Caroline Islands are the bases of power in the southern seas. Surely Nippon has been a worthy student of the old international game.

But Japan is not a leader of world militarism. She is not a pioneer. She is simply an apt pupil of the West; and may I say the Anglo-Saxon West? To the British Empire and America, consciously or unconsciously, she looks for her cue. These two nations, which together number half the people of the world, control one-third of the land and own two-thirds of the wealth—to these two nations Japan looks. Let them clearly demonstrate that their international relations are to be guided not by the millions of tons of armored ships "of the earth, the sea, and the air," but by the forces of the mind and the heart, and Japan will stand by their side and not be a menace to Asia but a blessing to the world.

But the writer would be untrue to his deepest convictions if he did not add that the planting of the spirit and teachings of Christ in the hearts of Japanese leaders is the only final guarantee of a safe future for Japan. Let the following chapter bear witness!

Appendix

Summary of the Report of the Government Committee on Education

(From *The Japan Advertiser*, Feb. 22, 1919)

"Our Empire is founded solely on the virtues of the Sovereign; solicitude on the part of the Ruler for the weal of the proletariat forms the essential principle for the administration of the country. . . ; the successive sovereigns have built our national organization on the foundation of loyalty to the state and of filial piety, treasuring the martial spirit and at the same time attaching the highest importance to the life of the people; the relation of the Imperial Family with the people is a natural outcome of the sense of duty binding the Ruler and his subjects, and of affection uniting the father with his children." This has given birth to "the beautiful habit of one-minded loyalty to the Imperial Family and of obedience to the parent." Then follows a historical statement of the granting of the Constitution by the Emperor Meiji.

"The facts as here enumerated should be most carefully borne in mind."

"For strengthening the people's veneration and adoration for our national policy, the beautiful habit of piety towards Deities and ancestors is necessary to be preserved and its general diffusion encouraged. . . . . The worship of Deities and ancestors is inseparably connected with the Family System of this

country which constitutes immutable and permanent national custom. The example set by the Imperial Family of pious devotion to the Deities and ancestors and of the act of worship consecrated to them has never suffered even the slightest change since the time of the birth of our national institutions. So also with the people of all classes, the custom of worshipping the spirit of the ancestors is universally observed. . . . It would be most necessary to direct the attention to adequately preserving the dignity and solemnity of the Temples commensurate with their sacred associations, and to universally educating the people on the true meaning of religious ceremonies and also to elevating the status of the Shinto Priesthood."

Then follows the suggestion that there should be established a course of study in the Imperial University to learn how to teach "the history of our national organization" and the basis of "our national polity." An exhortation to simplicity, loyalty, obedience to law, and the promotion of nation-wide concord as of one big family is followed by a paragraph regretting the luxurious tendencies of the time.

Other paragraphs suggest that Laws and Treaties that have tended to break down the Family System should promptly be revised. Government officials, public servants, the rich and the nobility should be admonished to restrain their habits of luxury and cultivate simplicity. "Materialism must be scrupulously guarded against." In relations with foreign Powers, "international morality should be most scrupulously observed."

In the social readjustments following the rapid industrial and commercial development of the Empire, every effort should be made to promote "social harmony, especially between labor and capital."

And finally, we get the essential attitude of the vasy majority of Japanese educators today:

"In these progressive times it is foolish to cling obstinately to the old things and in keeping pace with progress of the world it is necessary to import and adopt such foreign ideas as may be found to be beneficial and useful. . . . But at the same time the utmost care must be exercised against the tendency of attaching importance to anything new merely because of its newness. . . . New ideas should be studied, but precaution must be exercised in giving publicity to the results of the studies or on lecturing them before young students."

"Teachers of religion of all sects and denominations should contribute to the work of promoting national morality. . . . by propagating the doctrines characteristic of their respective creeds."

The legislation of this country "is based upon the ideal of our national organization and the fundamental principle that our national morality shall be immutable throughout the ages and remain unaffected even in the slightest degree."

Chapter XII

CAN JAPANESE BE CHRISTIANS?

"So long as the Sun shall warm the earth let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violates this command, shall pay for it with his head."

Thus read the notice boards posted from 1650 to 1873 in villages and by roadsides all over Japan. In 1918 behold the change! The Christian church, including Roman and Greek Catholic, enrolled 232,929, and was served by 4,516 Japanese and 1,480 foreigners. Half the members and three-fourths of the workers are Protestants. An occasional traveler doubts the genuineness of the Japanese Christian's faith. The following stories may remove such doubt:

Hampei Nagao

The evening of February 22, 1919, at Vladivostok. It had been a winter of international confusion. Seven nations were watching each other. Japan was nervous. The presence in Siberia of two hundred American railroad engineers, 180 Red Cross workers, a score of Publicity Bureau men, 100 YMCA secretaries, and 8,000 soldiers—what could it be but camouflage for some big commercial deal with Russia? Americans questioned the motive of Japan's expedi-

tion of 72,000 soldiers. The British regretted that President Wilson's policy had not been different. The French were financing the Czechs, 60,000 men without a country. Italy, on general principles, put her fingers in the pie. China was watching to see that nobody stole North Manchuria, and Russia was in civil war.

Out of this international chaos a gleam of order appeared. Over in Tokyo "conversations" had been carried on, that resulted in a service plan, finally proposed by Japan, for the coöperative operation of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The responsibility was to reside in a Technical Board of eight engineers, one from each of the countries that had soldiers in Siberia. John F. Stevens of Panama Canal fame was to be the chairman. From Japan came Hampei Nagao, a fearless Christian layman. On his first night in Siberia we took supper together.

"I didn't want this job," he said. "There is too much international politics in it. But my government would not let me resign. I have come over to work with Mr. Stevens. You know him. Is he a Christian? Because if he is, I will go and have prayer with him, and then I am sure that all of our problems can be solved."

Due not a little to the fine Christian spirit injected into that committee by this Japanese engineer, four months later Roland Morris, the American Ambassador to Japan, was able to say to a group of Osaka business men: "Every decision of that Technical Board has been unanimous."

Mr. Nagao is one of the leading Christians of the Empire. He is a great advocate of temperance and of church union. When in charge of the Kyushu Division of the Government Railroad he induced 6000 of the 8000 employees to sign the pledge. While living at Moji Mr. Nagao looked over the city and found several little denominational churches struggling for their existence. He started a movement for union, organized and raised the money for the institutional building of one central church. At any convention of Christian workers which he attends there is always a warm discussion of "Church Union."

He is now one of the six head directors of the government railways of Japan, occupying a civil position second only to the Premier and the members of his Cabinet.

Honourable Soroku Ebara, M. P.

Seventy-eight years old, for the twenty years 1890-1910 a Member of Parliament, elevated to a seat in the House of Peers in 1912, founder and president of the Azabu Boys' School of Tokyo, Member of the Higher Educational Council, decorated in 1915 by the Emperor for his services to education, the Honorable Soroku Ebara stands out as the great Christian Samurai of modern Japan.

His soldierly bearing, preserved these fifty years since his pre-Restoration campaigns, his combination of Bushido sternness and Christian love, his racy anecdotes drawn from an immense store of thrilling experiences, and his keen knowledge of human nature,

combine to make him a lecturer and evangelist much sought after. Were he not so devoted to his school he could spend all his time responding to invitations for religious addresses. The fact that he is a layman and a publicist gives his preaching especial force.

An illustration of his capacity for work and of the wide audience which he reaches may be gathered from a ten days' spring schedule which included seven baccalaureate sermons, two educational lectures, and addresses at a church and a Sunday School Convention.

A YMCA president, he is also indefatigable in serving the temperance movement and the peace societies and in supporting the work of his own church. At a supper given by the Tokyo Association to celebrate Mr. Ebara's elevation to the House of Peers, he told the following anecdote, which illustrates both his humor and his democratic spirit:

"There is no denying that people pay special respect to a member of the Upper House. Members of both Houses receive first class passes (white tickets) on the railways, but when I was a plain member of the Lower House, the police and the train guards just made a grudgingly civil bow, whereas now they get down on their marrow bones. Even when I had a white ticket I was accustomed to ride with the blue ticket (second) or the red ticket (third class) common people, for I am one of them. One time I was on a train with a number of M.P.'S. They all rode in the first-class compartment, while I got into the third. At Shizuoka as we all got off, I noticed

with just a flutter of jealousy that there were twenty policemen lined up to welcome the members of Parliament in the first-class, while I was left unnoticed. One man was shown particular attention and I said to myself, 'That's because he's a relative of so and so.' But later I learned that the police had been detailed to arrest him on a charge of taking bribes, and I reflected that it was better to ride on a red ticket and wear a white heart than ride on a white ticket and wear a red convict's uniform."

Mr. Ebara is verily one of Japan's grand old men, an Imperial democrat, one of God's noblemen.

Toyohiko Kagawa

Travelers in Japan who wish to see where for more than a decade the Sermon on the Mount has been literally lived should visit Toyohiko Kagawa at his little settlement house in the slums of Shinkawa, Kobe. It was in 1911, two years after his graduation from the theological seminary, that I first met him. My little eight year old daughter went to sing at his children's Christmas in a tent on a vacant lot among the really poor of the great seaport. The Christmas tree, the gifts, the candy and the songs of the little flaxen-haired American child made Christmas the real thing to two hundred tangle-headed, thinly clad, sore-eyed girls and boys.

Kagawa San started life as the son of one of the founders of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, now one of the big steamship companies of the East. Through

fast living and speculation his father lost the fortune of the old and wealthy family. An older brother dissipated what was left. A rich uncle took the boy and placed him in a middle school from which he graduated sixth in his class. But the lad, eager for knowledge, sought the acquaintance of Dr. H. W. Myers, the missionary who baptized him two years before he finished school. After commencement, Kagawa announced to his uncle that he was going to be a Christian minister. Without delay he was thrown out penniless. A classmate who had been converted in the same English Bible class kept him for a week, and after that Dr. Myers took him to his home as his boy. At the Presbyterian College in Tokyo and later in the Methodist Seminary in Kobe, he studied until his graduation in 1909. Later he spent three years in America at Princeton. Kagawa's real touch with the poor came during an attack of tuberculosis when he left school and went to live in the hut of a poor fisherman. He says, "There was a tragedy of sin in every house in that seaside village." After recovering, he returned to school, and the Christmas before his graduation went to live in a horrible little room in the slums. Let Dr. Myers tell the story:

'We felt that in giving him permission to go there we were signing his death warrant, but he would take no refusal. He lived on $1.50 per month and the rest of the money given for his support and all else he got his hands on went to help the poor and suffering about him. He gave away all his clothes

except what he had on his back, and to provide for somebody who was hungry he often went without a meal. We continued to keep a change of clothing for him at our home where he could not give it away, and did our best to keep him from starving himself. Strange to say, this heroic treatment under the blessing of God cured his disease. He was preaching day and night, visiting and nursing the sick, studying and writing during these years, and doing the work of six ordinary men.

"He is one of the leading figures of the religious world in Japan. He is the author of a half-dozen books on philosophical, religious and social subjects, has delivered special courses of lectures in a dozen institutions, is a leader in all the public agitation for social reform, carries on a laborers' dormitory, a free hospital and a dispensary, is editor and proprietor of *The Laborer's News*, and is a constant contributor to several magazines. Besides all this he is the efficient pastor of his flock in Shinkawa and acting pastor of another church. He preaches three times a week in the slums and during last spring conducted evangelistic services in the Kobe YMCA and in twenty churches of this section."

In the summer of 1919, at the request of the Federated Churches, Kagawa visited the coal mines of Kyushu. His report of the rough conditions where half-naked women and men were laboring for long hours in the dingy, dirty underground stirred the Christian world.

His latest achievement is the organization of the

Kansai Federation of Labor with a membership of 5,500. This is the nearest to a real labor union of any similar organization in Japan.

Mr. Kagawa needs at once a suitable building for his great uplifting work among the poor of Kobe.

Michiko Kawai

Apostle of the New Man and the New Woman

"Today I have discovered the coming woman of Japan," said Dr. Nitobe to his wife when he returned home from the girls' school at Sapporo where he had met the fourteen year old Michiko. "To my mind," writes her associate Miss MacDonald, "she is not the coming woman any more, *she has come*." Not only as head of the Young Women's Christian Association but as a speaker and writer to men is Miss Kawai making her impress on the New Japan. Excepting the late Madame Hirooka, few have been the women who could win and hold as she does the attention of Japanese men. Miss Macdonald writes of her early life:

"Kawai San is the daughter of a Shinto priest who was the fortieth in his line, with an unbroken priesthood of 1200 years, all at the Imperial Shrines at Ise. After the restoration in 1868 her father's order was abolished and he took his family to Hokkaido, the northern island. There he engaged in business. He was a very devout man and Kawai San has told us that among her earliest recollections is that of her father going out every morning to worship the great

Spirit behind the Rising Sun. He taught his children to pray always facing towards Ise. When Michiko San was about eleven her father became a Christian through the influence of a cousin of his who had been a ne'er-do-well but after his conversion had become a Christian evangelist. The whole Kawai family were shortly after baptized. The father henceforth taught them to pray turning away from Ise, to impress the difference on their childish minds. He died a bit later."

The reticent little girl was sent to a mission school where Dr. Nitobe met her and took her to his home. "She was," Mr. Nitobe said, "the shyest thing I had ever seen." Later she went to Bryn Mawr, having won the competitive scholarship which Miss Tsuda had founded for sending Japanese students from her Tokyo school to the American college.

Since her graduation Miss Kawai has been tireless in her work for her sex in Japan. Through her visits and talks at girls' schools, by the promotion of a series of women's summer conferences all over the Empire, and with her magazine, she is a national figure. Knowing that the docile Japanese woman can never become what she should without the help of men, Miss Kawai has welcomed increasing opportunities to tell young men how to look on women and how to prepare for their future homes.

Miss Kawai is also a prominent Presbyterian, having been chosen an elder in Dr. Uemura's church in Tokyo.

Criticism has, as a matter of course, been aroused.

Several years ago I sat by a long-haired, conservative university graduate as Miss Kawai thrilled an audience at the Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association. In the midst of her inspiring address this man remarked, "We men do not consider Miss Kawai a typical Japanese woman. She is too eccentric." Thank God for such eccentricity. Would there were half a hundred more!

Miss Kawai visited Siberia in 1919 and in 1920 made her third visit since her college graduation to the United States. She is representing Japan at important Christian Association gatherings.

Another word from Miss Macdonald: "Kawai San is naturally of a religious temperament. It is easy for her to understand the reality of the Unseen. Do you suppose she gets it from 1200 years' heredity of Shinto priesthood? It is an interesting problem."

Utako Hayashi

Miss Hayashi is the able general who in 1905 as leader of the Osaka W. C. T. U. secured 10,000 comfort bags for soldiers in Manchuria, and since then has led three vigorous campaigns against the licensed social evil. The two fights of 1909 and 1912 eliminated from Osaka over 130 licensed houses involving 1500 inmates; and the campaign against the new quarter at Tobita, kept up in 1916 for more than nine weary months, was due largely to her untiring energy and buoyant faith. These three drives against prostitution have been such an education to

the whole Japanese nation that within a few years we believe the licensed system will be a thing of the past. I count it a great honor to have fought by the side of this noble little woman, sometimes from the same platform, in these campaigns.

Born fifty-five years ago in Fukui Miss Hayashi graduated from the Fukui Normal School and later became a teacher in the Episcopal Girls' School of Tokyo. In 1896 she became head of the Osaka Hakuaisha Orphanage which she built up through starvation and self-sacrifice until she was able to hand it over to another head with an equipment valued at $30,000 and accommodations for 130 boys and girls. In the early days of the orphanage she once fasted two whole days when the money failed. At another time after a day of empty stomachs, on returning from a night school where she taught, she "bought" five cents worth of potatoes for her starving children, promising to pay later. The next day, unable to keep her promise, she went around by side streets to avoid the dunning shop keeper. On the third morning the longed-for post office order came from America, but it was payable at the Denbo office three miles away across the river. Weak from hunger she started on the long walk but was stopped at the river for lack of the quarter cent for the ferry ticket. The boatman yielded to her tears and she finally cashed the order and fed her children. If weeping could have moved the Osaka Governor, the Tobita Licensed Quarter would never be on the map, for I one day saw his desk wet with the tears of this

valiant woman as she pleaded for the freeing of the "white slaves" of our city. A free lance, living by faith, Utako Hayashi is giving all she has and is for the uplift of the women of Japan.

Colonel Gunpei Yamamuro

"When Colonel Yamamuro speaks I feel that I am listening to a man filled with the Holy Spirit." Thus spoke a Japanese YMCA secretary of his contemporary, the chief secretary of the Salvation Army.

Wherever Yamamuro goes the halls are crowded. In the Osaka fights against licensed prostitution he has been chief platform speaker and publicity writer. His style is picturesque and conclusive. In his book *Study of One Hundred Prostitutes*, he has investigated and interviewed the unfortunate girls whom his associates have rescued, and from their personal experience he has drawn his conclusions. In public address, the pathetic stories he tells drive home the principles he draws from their examination.

The Common People's Gospel is another of Colonel Yamamuro's books. This, running through many successive editions, has caused hundreds of Japanese to become Christians. The Japanese *War Cry* is also in his care. Among his writings is a life of General Booth. In 1917 while on a visit to the United States, he conducted a highly successful religious campaign among countrymen of his in many states.

On the accession of the present Emperor in 1915 Yamamuro was decorated with the Legion of Honor, a recognition of social service which has been granted to few Christians.

Reverend Masahisa Uemura

For a real live wire go to Reverend Uemura. For forty years, from Tokyo as a center, he has been preaching and writing a conservative Christian Gospel. Watch the eager faces of the 400 members who troop into his church every Sunday morning as the crowd of Sunday School children troop out. His is the largest congregation in Japan. Yet he has graduated five independent branch churches and is preparing two more for their commencement.

But church work is not enough to keep Mr. Uemura busy. He manages a divinity school of forty students, including ten women, publishes a religious magazine and for three years shared with Reverend Miyagawa of Osaka the management of the nation-wide evangelistic campaign. His school is sixteen years old, his paper thirty, his church forty and he has just turned sixty-one. Like Reverend Miyagawa, he has lived his working life in one city.

Among the men he has inspired to Christian public service are the late Kenkichi Kataoka, four times president of the Diet, Somei Uzawa, M. P., and Nobori Watanabe, Chief Justice of the Court of Cassation in Korea.

Mr. Uemura is a great believer in church independ-

ence and self-support. All his undertakings have for twenty-five years been independent of the mission boards. His church is supported by the members, his paper by its subscribers and his school by one of his wealthy converts. He is a wide reader, terse and sharp in expression, and a tremendous worker. Midnight finds him finishing the day.

He used to be fond of a controversy. In 1901-02 he engaged in a theological contention with the more liberal Danjo Ebina. But with maturing years he has learned to coöperate with his former creedal enemies.

Mr. Uemura was one of the founders of the Tokyo YMCA, and for many years was the head of the Presbyterian General Board which has mission churches in Korea, China, LiuChiu, Formosa and Japan.

When his knightly family was reduced to poverty at the Restoration, he sold wood and charcoal and even raised the hated pigs. Spare time he gave to study. James H. Ballagh and S. R. Brown did a great service to the Orient when they took this eager son of a fallen daimyo into their Yokohama English class.

Kiyoshi Koizumi

Two years ago I sat in the cozy parlor of a Japanese suburban home and listened to the life story of a prosperous Christian merchant. Measured in money it was an upward climb from a two dollar a month teacher to a semi-millionaire iron dealer.

Measured in spiritual values it was the rise from an obscure villager to one of the leading Christian laymen of the Empire, and member of the Executive Committee of the World's Sunday School Association.

Mrs. Koizumi came from a well-to-do family. But she was cast off when she married a Christian. She and her husband were eking out a bare living when a triflling incident fired a new ambition. One of the primary pupils brought a Parley's history and asked his teacher to read it with him. Ashamed at his ignorance of English Mr. Koizumi resolved to leave his country school and master the foreign language. Although twenty-four years of age, he went up to Osaka and enrolled in the six years' course at the Taisei School. For support the little wife remained at home and taught sewing in a school for girls. Of her monthly $3.50 she sent $2.00 to her husband and starved on the rest. In the midst of the struggle, her baby came. I can see her now sitting on her feet, Japanese style, by her husband's chair, as he related the trials of those early days.

The six years' work he finished in four. After graduation he clerked for $2.00 a month. Mrs. Koizumi joined him, and by her sewing added another $2.00 to their meager income. In the evenings, the English scholar tended the baby while his wife sewed. Then wages rose to $4.00 per month and later to $6.00. The wolf had been conquered. All this hardship because rich parents declined to help.

As the iron dealer ended the story he pointed to

his wife sitting on the floor beside his chair. "She hasn't much education and she lacks the graces of a dainty lady. Her eyes are bad, too, and she has to wear those ugly spectacles. But she hurt her eyes working to make me what I am. I love her for it." Thus spoke the Christian iron merchant, the superintendent of the largest Sunday School in West Japan, the treasurer of the local Young Men's Christian Association, and a pillar in the Congregational Church. When the Osaka Association was raising money for its building it was Mr. Koizumi who made the largest gift of any Christian in the city. Passionately devoted to the Sunday School he responds to every appeal for such work. He once gave a whole shelf of reference books on Christian education to the pastors' library in the YMCA building.

His Christianity he practices in his business. At meetings of his fellow merchants it has been the custom to carouse with wine and women. Against this evil he is throwing all the weight of his influence. To his little group of clerks he regularly divides a tenth of each half year's profits, which at one time meant for the ten young men the snug sum of $35,000.

Reverend Tsuneteru Miyagawa

On a springlike Sunday in January, 1876, a group of school-boys walked through the streets of Kumamoto in South Japan, singing "Jesus, I My Cross Have Taken" and other Christian hymns. On the top of Hana-oka-yama, a hill overlooking the city,

they kneeled and after prayer signed and sealed their names on an oath-paper covenanting at the sacrifice of their lives to enlighten the darkness of their country by preaching the Gospel of God. From that group have come Ebina, Kozaki, Kanamori, and Miyagawa. What does Japan not owe to the spiritual leadership of these men, still active in Christian evangelism!

Captain Janes, the American military officer chosen as the martial spirited English teacher of this clan private school, for three years taught English in public and prayed with his wife in private for the anti-Christian boys. In the fourth year the teacher announced: "I shall teach the Bible on Sunday. Any one who wishes may come to my house." Miyagawa went to study Christianity in order to oppose it. Of a family of Shinto priests he saw in this Bible class the opportunity to prepare himself to become the champion of Shintoism in its conflict with Christianity. Charmed by the personality and conviction of Captain Janes and moved by the prayers of Mrs. Janes, the boys responded. "The whole school," writes one of the pupils, "was like a boiling cauldron. Studies were neglected, groups of five, six, or seven began to study the Bible in the recitation rooms, in the dining room or in their own private rooms. Some of them not more than twelve years of age were impelled to speak to others."

Miyagawa's father in a rage snatched him from the school and sent him for private tutoring to an old Shinto priest.

"At one of my first interviews," he later wrote, "I asked this old scholar to tell me where the Shinto paradise was. He replied that it was in the sun. But I objected that the sun was a planet that was burning itself out. He replied that there was still one spot that was cool where was built a large Shinto temple. Then I asked him which was the first country on this earth to become civilized. Of course he mentioned Japan. Again I objected that Egypt was civilized at least 5,000 years before Japan was known. On repeating my interview to my father he made no reply and I ceased to go to the old man for further instruction."

In the fall of 1876 Miyagawa was one of the famous Kumamoto Band of fifteen who formed the first theological class in Doshisha University. Often have I heard the late Dr. Davis amusingly describe his struggles with this group of wild colts.

After finishing the Doshisha and teaching school for three years, Mr. Miyagawa began in the Osaka Church his one and only pastorate. For nearly forty years, with the aid of his able wife, this Beecher of Japan has hurled his invectives against the evils of Japanese society and expounded Christ as the Savior of the Empire. His church, almost from the first self-supporting, has grown to 1000 members with a $6000 budget, three assistant pastors, and a woman worker. For twenty years he has issued the *Osaka Kodan*, a monthly containing his sermons and other articles. Mr. Miyagawa was the chairman in West Japan of the recent Three Years' Evangelistic Campaign and served for many years as the President

of the local Young Men's Christian Association. Three times he has been abroad. Two years ago his parish made a record for benevolence in Japan by raising ¥50,000 for the new church home.

Madam Asako Hirooka

The life story of Madam Hirooka, business woman, educator, patriot, and Christian orator, is a witness to the power of the Bible to remake character even at the age of sixty. In her girlhood she received the usual training in lady-like accomplishments, but her thirsty mind longed for more. Untaught, she learned to read the books boys studied until her family, when she was thirteen years old, actually forbade her to read any more books at all.

Married at seventeen from the wealthy Mitsui family into an Osaka house, she soon discovered that her rich husband was spending his time in amusements, leaving the management of his affairs to others. Realizing that financial troubles were approaching, she began to prepare. Working night after night, the young wife mastered arithmetic, bookkeeping and commercial subjects. Five years after the wedding, during a panic the crash came and her new family was nearly bankrupt.

From that time, separating from her husband and quite alone, with remarkable ability she took full charge of the firm, opened a profitable coal mine near Moji, started the Kajima Bank, the Daido Life Insurance Company, and exploited agricultural lands in Korea. For nearly forty years, until the marriage

of her only daughter, Madam Hirooka was one of the prominent business persons of the Empire.

Her conversion dates from a dinner with a few friends at the Osaka Hotel ten years before her death. Mr. Naruse, President of the Tokyo Woman's University, which she had backed for many years, pointing to her remarked to Reverend Miyagawa: "This uncouth woman needs religion; you better teach her." This stinging remark of a trusted friend broke through. Then began that intimate study of the Bible with her pastor, often taking three or four hours a week, which resulted two years later in her baptism. She was received into the Church at the same service as several Sunday School pupils. The queen of finance had become a little child.

Three months after the baptism of the mother her daughter came to Reverend Miyagawa and said: "My servants say the devil is getting to be an angel." Another servant in the Tokyo Mitsui family said to the newly-born old lady: "Now that you have become so much kinder I hope you will live a long time."

Prayer was a great problem to her. The suggestion was made that she try to speak to God what was in her heart "as a tenderly indulged child speaks to a father." Madam Hirooka later made the comment: "Unlike other people I had never had the experience of being tenderly indulged; my father, my mother, even my husband, far from tenderly indulging me, had always depended upon me, so this advice did not suit me at all."

Her magazine articles were signed "Kyuten Jukki

Sei" (nine times falling, nine times rising again), a true description of her life, referring to Prov. 24:16, "A righteous man falleth seven times and riseth up again."

Madam Hirooka was one of the great Christian evangelists of Japan. In connection with the United Evangelistic Campaign she toured from north to south and south to north, making her thrilling, almost terrific, appeals for pure Christian living. One night at Shimonoseki she held a vast theatre audience of 2,000 for a solid hour with her virile Gospel message. She always dressed in European clothes which made her quickly recognized everywhere she went.

Her main interest was the woman problem, the arrows of which from a child had pierced her soul. Many a time have I heard her eloquent damnation of the pernicious customs tolerated by law and by society. But with her there was but one solution—the Bible and Christianity. An American newspaper woman who had certain theories that education and environment make men and women once interviewed Madam Hirooka and tried to get her ideas confirmed by this keen Japanese mind. But the Oriental business woman kept reiterating what the Occidental writer kept ignoring, that without the Spirit of the living God working in the hearts of men, these things could not be done.

Although she had suffered much, her first tears were shed one summer morning at Karuizawa. She gives a beautiful account of that memorable experience on the mountain side, when all the clouds upon

her spirit vanished and she was lifted into full fellowship with her Lord. After the happy tear drops had rained down she lifted her eyes, the morning mists were rolling up, the cooing of the wood pigeons and the early notes of the nightingale seemed to be praising God with a sweetness never known before. From that morning in the great outdoors until her death God and His Presence were a vital reality to her.

Baron Ichizaemon Morimura

Halls were not large enough when the "big business" evangelists, Madam Hirooka and Baron Morimura were advertised to speak. The testimony of this gray-haired pair, both converted when over sixty and working with an intensity which put to shame many a younger Christian, was irresistible. The loss to the Christian movement in their deaths less than a year apart cannot be estimated. Had he lived another month Baron Morimura would have been eighty years old. For the last quarter of his life he was an ardent Christian, having been converted during a visit to America. Although he travelled about the Empire preaching in nearly every larger center he was baptized only two years before his death, and then at his own residence and by an unordained evangelist who had spent twenty-three years of his life in jail. By selecting Mr. Y. Koji to perform this ceremony Baron Morimura registered his protest against division and formalism in the Christian Church.

This millionaire head of the Morimura Company, Exporters and Importers, began his career as shop

boy in a dry goods store. At eighteen he was a petty dealer in tobacco pouches. At thirty-six he organized the firm which still bears his name. At fifty-three he was appointed manager of the Nihon Ginko, the Bank of England of Japan, which post he filled for eighteen years. Later he established the Morimura Bank. Four years before his death he was created a peer and given the title of Baron. The kindly face under its canopy of snow white hair will remain a vivid picture in the hearts of those who heard this prosperous business man exhort his countrymen to follow his Christ.

Professor Sakuzo Yoshino

In May of 1919, at Tokyo I met Bob Gailey, the Young Men's Christian Association statesman of North China. "George," he said, "you say there is a democratic party in Japan. I can't find it. I wish you would show me some evidence."

A few hours later we passed under the big red gate of the Tokyo Imperial University, the school de luxe of the Oriental world. In his office we met Professor Yoshino, authority in international politics and president of the University Christian Association. To Professor Yoshino Gailey reported his quest.

"Signs of democracy in Japan?" said Dr. Yoshino. "Why, the University students are turning democrats so fast that we are trying to slow them down to keep them from becoming Bolsheviks."

Then this Christian educator told us how a few days before, when the agitation in China against

Japan's demands for Shantung was at its height, three of his pupils went over to call on some Chinese in Tokyo. The men from abroad were afraid. They thought the Japanese had come to start something. But when they heard this little deputation express sympathy for China in her plight they were dumb with surprise.

The professor's eyes shone as he explained to us his "Shinjin Kai" (Society of New Men), of fifty University graduates—a group of educated reformers. A score of these had recently banded themselves together to study in close contact the labor situation in their Empire. They had gone out into the shops and factories to work and live with the laborers. Here were twenty disciples under the guidance of a Christian prophet getting first-hand information with which to help solve a great social problem when the crisis in Japan should become acute. As we left the University grounds, Gailey remarked: "This morning has given me a great hope, both for China and for Japan."

The leadership of the new Orient must come from Christians. The narrow nationalism of men of the old school in any land must give place to leaders who believe in a World Father and the one Kingdom of a sacrificing Master. Professor Yoshino's experience peculiarly fits him to guide Japan at this time. His years of residence in the University Christian Association dormitory, when twenty years ago he came down from the north a poor college student, gave him the Christian background. His knowledge of China, gained by three years' residence in Tientsin when he

was tutor in Yuan Shih K'ai's family, and his three years of study in America and Europe in 1910-13, have given him an insight of both the East and the West.

As professor of Political History in the Imperial University Law College, Dr. Yoshino stands in a position to send from his classes a steady stream of young political leaders with the Christian world view. The general public, too, looks to him for guidance. The circulation of *The Central Review* (Chuo Koron), the magazine through which he preaches his progressive ideas, has increased its monthly circulation from 11,000 to 55,000 in the last four years.

The contribution to the future of Asia of this traveled Christian democrat is beyond measure, especially at this critical time when, in the words of a recent American visitor to Japan, "One false move and the whole Far East may be ablaze."

It is such men and women who will Christianize Japan's impact on the world. The development of a few more leaders like these is the solution of the problem of the Far East. Here is the call to British and American young men and women, to go to Japan, dig down into the life of that forward-looking nation, and raise up Christians of this type. Men from China and even Russia are saying: "If necessary, our countries can wait. Japan must be Christianized now." Let us, the followers of Christ, buttress the Japanese church until "the menace of Japan" shall become the blessing of the Orient. Where is there a greater challenge to constructive service?

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INDEX

Abolition of slavery, 29
Adams, Will, 47
Aigun, 134
Alaska, 47
Allied forces, 26
All-Russian Government, 36
America, 25, 32, 48, 136, 242
  leaves Siberia, 33
American arms, 32
  business man, quoted, 7
  Congress, inaction of, 112
  engineers, 6, 10, 29, 31
  Expeditionary Force, 27
  fleet in Japan, 48
  Government, 33
    decision regarding Siberia, 21, 22
  Legion, 203
  military prison, 164, 165
  opposition to Japan's policies, 211 sq.
  policy, 32
  Review of Reviews, quoted, 205, 207
  soldiers, number of, in France, 213
Americans, purpose of, in Siberia, 29
Amur Line, 2, 23, 24
Amur River, 23, 26, 134
  Japanese troops at the mouth of, 24
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 58, 59
Anglo-Saxon race, 242
  plea to, 4
Annam, 56
Annexation by white nations, 168
Anshanchan steel mill, 128
Anti-American feeling, causes of, 197 sq.
Anti-Japanese demonstrations, 50
  feeling, 25
  stories, 200 sq.
Antung-Mukden Railway, 82, 87
Area of Japan, 240
Armaments, limitation of, 40
Arms Alliance, 77
Army, Japanese, 78, 235, 241
  in Siberia, 24, 32
  in 1895, 54
  in 1904, 54
  officers in, 76
Arnold, Julean, 169, 171
Asahi, Osaka, 94, 105
Asahi, Toyko, 27, 104
Asama, the, 201
Asia, Japan's prestige in northern, 25
Asia, quoted, 13
Australia, 221
Austrians, 22

Baikal, Lake, 33
Baker, Newton D., Secretary of War, 43
Baker, William, 170
Ballagh, James H., 259
Baltic Squadron, 60
Banks, 20, 225
Bashford, Bishop, 168, 170
Belgium, 168
Bell, Sergeant, 165

Berlin Mission Society, 181
Bessarabia, 37, 41
Bibliography, 271, 272
Big Five, 164
Blagoveschensk, 23, 26, 28
Blunders, first, 74
  second, 74
  third, 75
  fourth, 77
  fifth, 77
Bolsheviki, 3, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 37, 39, 43
Bolshevism, Japan fearful of, 33
Booth, General, 257
Boston Globe, 202
Boston Herald, 178, 190
Boxer uprising, 57, 185
Boycott of Japanese goods, 180
British, the, 23, 48, 247
British army officers, 21
  banks, 20
  engineers, 31
  fleet, 55
  Labor Party, 107
  packing firm, 13
  troops, 43
  War Office, 10
Brown, Arthur Judson, 144, 229
Brown, S. R., 259
Bryn Mawr, 254
Buddhism, 238, 239
Bukedu, 2
Burial at sea, 210, 211
Bushido, 79, 238, 248
Business men in Siberia, 12

Cabinet, the, 43
California, birth rate in, 208
  Japanese question in, 204
California, land cultivated by Japanese in, 209
  land laws, 208
  referendum, 207
Cambodia, 56
Canada, 221
Canteens, 14
Canton, 55, 242
Caroline Islands, 242
Caucasian territory, 37, 41
Causeway to Asia, 60
Chai-Amm-Ni, burning of church at, 151, 152
Changchun, 25, 61, 125, 172
  cruel treatment of a coolie at, 130, 131
  Italians at, 11
Chang Chung Hsiang, 180
Chang Poling, 182
Characteristics in Japan, 236 sq.
Charity in Japan, 229
Chefoo, 81, 86
Chemulpo, 60
China, 25, 49, 52, 53, 55, 247
  buying power of, 168, 169
  coal of, 169
  factories of, 170
  foreign adviser of, 84
  foreign concessions in, 191
  hatred of Japan by, 3
  iron in, 170
  Japan compared to, 167
  in Korea, 50, 51
  national union of, stimulated by Japan, 182
  natural resources of, 169 sq.
  police of, 84
  Press, The, quoted, 76
  solution of problem of, 191

China, war of, with Japan, cost of, 52
number of soldiers in, 52
Chinese Customs, 15, 16
Eastern Railroad, 2, 10, 15, 24, 76, 134
engineers, 31
Government Railway, 134
revolution, 135
students oppose Japan, 179
tellers, 20
Choshu, 48
Christianity in Japan, 46, 239, 246 sq.
Christian Herald, The, 138
Christian Work, The, 182
Christians in Japan, 47, 246
Chronicle, The San Francisco, 137
Chuo Koron, 199, 270
Civilians, growing power of, 100
Clemenceau, 32, 38, 43
Coal mines in Shantung, 68
Cochin-China, 56
Coleman, Frederic, quoted, 132, 173, 175
Concessions in China, 195
Conservatives, 115
Consortium, 135, 186 sq., 214
Constituent Assembly, 35 sq.
Corbett, Dr. Hunter, 181
Cossacks, 28, 32
Cost of living in Japan, 226
Court Chamberlain, 102
Crown Prince, 31
Cuba, 188
Current Opinion, 138
Czar, 53, 55
Czecho-Slovaks, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, 33, 34, 247
Dairen, 52, 57, 61, 121, 183, 236
beans of, 122
experiment station, 126
trade of, 122
Dalny, 82, 87, 141
Davis, Dr., 263
"Dawn, The," 98
Debts of Japan, 226
of nations, 223
of Russia, 38, 41
Deities, 243
Democracy, 98, 264
growth of, 94, 219
evolution of Japan towards, 119
flooding the world, 104
Deshima, 47
Dewey, John, 229, 234, 238
on Japan factory laws, 108
Dial, The, 108, 234, 238
Diet, the, 33, 96, 219, 232
Diplomacy, Japan's skill in, 53
Diplomatic blunders, 71
Divorce, 230, 231
Doshisha University, 263
"Dual Government," 79, 103, 114 sq.
Dutch, the, 47, 48

Ebara, Soroku, 248
Ebina, 262
Economic future of Japan, 220 sq.
Economic Relief Society, 14
Education, 232 sq.
government report on, 243
Egypt, 164, 192
Elder statesmen, the, 219
Elgin, Lord, 240
Emperor of Japan, 53, 54, 116, 232, 243, 248

Emperor and Empress, the act of courtesy of, 31
Rescript concerning Korea, 78
Empress, Dowager, 185
Encyclopedia Britannica, 56
England, 32, 53, 55, 71, 136, 191
agreement of, with Russia, 57
English pilot, 47
Englishman killed in Yokohama, 48
Esteb, Miss, 138
Esthonia, 37, 41
Europe, 47, 54, 56
Exports, excess of, 221
to China, 181

Factories, 227
Factory laws, 108, 109
Fakumen, 134
Family system, 244
Far East, peace of, 53
Far Eastern Olympics, 182
Federated Missions, 226
"Fifth Group," 74
Finances of Japan, 221 sq.
Finland, 37, 41, 165
Force, use of, 73
in international dealings, 45
Foreign diplomacy, 45
Office, 25, 96, 117
trade, 223
Formosa, 52, 100, 240, 242
Forum, The, 202
France, 25, 53, 55, 71, 77, 136, 168, 191
president of, 53
Franchise, extension of, 96
Freedom of Russia, 43
of speech and of the press, 97
French, the, 23, 31, 43, 48, 247
French missionaries massacred in Korea, 140
possessions in South China, 55
Friendly Society, 106, 107, 110
platforms of, 113 sq.
Fukien, 85, 92
Fushun coal mine, 127
Future of Japan, 218 sq.

Gailey, Robert R., 268
Geisha, 227
General Sherman, the, 140
General Staff of Japanese army, 24, 78, 96, 117, 118, 241
Genghis Khan, 139
Gentlemen's Agreement, 203, 204, 205
George, David Lloyd, 32, 38, 43
German autocracy, 34
Catholic missionaries, 54
propaganda, 202
Germans, the, 21, 22
Germany, 25, 29, 53, 54, 71, 168
ultimatum to, 73, 194
Gleason, George, 149, 217
Goto, Baron, 24
Graves, Major-General William S., 22, 27, 28, 30
Great Britain, 77, 164, 168, 242
Great Wall, the, 57
Gulick, Dr. S. L., 200, 205, 210

Habarovsk, 2, 3, 14, 22, 23, 27
Hague Conference, 72
Haiti, 164
Hangkow, 135, 170, 175
Hanyang, 175
Hanyehping Co., 83, 91, 174 sq.
Hara, Premier, Cabinet of, 94, 95, 97

Hara, Premier, letter from, 216, 217
proclamation of, on Korea, 161
quoted, 94, 95, 101
Harbin, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 57, 59, 125, 168
Harriman, Edward H., 133, 197
Hawaii, 188
Japanese in, 210
Hayashi, Baron Gonsuke, 100, 172
Miss Utako, 255
Hearn, Lafcadio, 230
Hegemony in Asia, 173
Heidt, Miss, 137, 138
Heney-Webb Bill, 206
Henschen, Sigmund, 202
Hershey, Amos R., 6, 172, 173, 193
Heyking, Baron von, 70
Hideyoshi, Toyotomi, 46
invasion of Korea by, 139
Hioki, Mr., 93
Hirooka, Asako, Madam, 253, 264
Hochi, The, 97, 104, 187
Hokkaido, 241
Home Minister, the, 111
Honest, are the Japanese, 20
Hongkong, 55, 191, 242
Hornbeck, Stanley K., 226
Horvath, General, 16
Hsinmintun, 134

Ichihashi, Prof., 205, 206
Ichoufu, 67
Ieyasu, 47
Imperial Government of Japan, 27
Household Department, 98, 99
Rescript, the, 218
travel, simplifying of, 98
University, 233, 268
democracy in, 98
Imports, 171
Imports from China, 181
Indemnity, China to Japan, 52
paid by Japan, 49
Independent, The, 162, 179, 192
India, 164
Indo-China, 56
Insurance, 225
Integrity of China, 173, 190
Intendanski Rosjest, 17
International Agreement, 7
Labor Conference, 109
relations, 242
Internationalism, 53
Irkutsk, 23
Irwin, Commodore, 201
Ise Shinto Shrine, 229
Ishii, Viscount Kikujiro, 197, 211, 216
Ishii-Lansing agreement, 77, 202, 214 sq.
Ishikawa, Pastor, 14
Ishizaka, Rev., 78
Italians, 11, 31, 43
Italy, 247
Ito, Prince, 49, 50, 133
assassination of, 142
in Seoul, 141, 142
Iwakura Mission, 49

Janes, Captain, 262
Japan Advertiser, 10, 99 sq., 114, 138, 156, 177, 179, 184, 198, 199, 222, 223, 243
Japan Chronicle, 44, 107, 111 sq., 164, 188, 199, 225
Japan Mail, 173, 235
Japan Review, 102, 196
Japan Year Book, 222, 231, 235
Japanese Government, 53

Japanese Government, legation in Seoul, 50
troops in Siberia, 23
Japanese in United States, 204
Jiji, 98, 99
Jordan, Dr. David Starr, 20, 200

Kagawa, Toyohiko, 107, 250
Kagoshima, 48
Kaibara, 230
Kaizo, 98
Kalmikov, 32
Kamakura Buddha, 49
Kamchatka, 241
Kamio, General, 73
Kanamori, 262
Kansai Federation of Labor, 107, 253
Kato, Viscount, 160, 173, 193
Kawai, Michiko, 253
Kawakami, Mr., 202
Kawasaki ship building yards, 110
Keijo Nippo, 156
Kennan, George, 202
Kiaochow, 81, 86
leased to Germany, 62
Kinchow, 134
Kirin, 24, 184
Kirin-Changchun Railway, 83, 90
Knox, General, 8, 10, 197
Knox proposal, 134, 135, 187
Koizumi, Kiyoshi, 259 sq.
Koji, Y., 267
Kokumin, The, 27, 188, 199
Kokusai Tsushinsha, 193
Kolchak, Admiral, 32, 34, 38, 43
Komura, Baron, 61
Korea, 3, 4, 51, 228, 240
agricultural resources of, 143
Korea, annexation of, 72, 142
area of, 143
causes of uprising in, 156 sq.
changes in, 101
Chinese troops in, 51
country of villages, 142
crucifixions in, 137
Emperor's Rescript on, 160
espionage in, 159
history of, 139 sq.
Imperial rescript on, 145
incidents in the uprising in, 152 sq.
independent buffer state, 72
influence of uprising on mission work in, 156, 157
integrity of, 59
Japan in, 137
Japanese occupation of, 145
Japanese troops in, 51
king of, 49
material progress in, 146 sq.
minerals of, 143
missions in, 145
negotiations concerning, 59, 72
newspaper attacks on missionaries in, 155, 156
official report of uprisings in, 150, 151
population of, 143
reforms in, 50, 51, 160
Russia in, 58
students' idea on, 118
superstitions in, 144, 145
Korean situation, 162
conclusion on, 164
Kozaki, 262
Krapivinski, station master, 16
Kuhara, 228
Kumamoto, 261

Kurino, Mr., 60
Kurozawa, Colonel, 15, 16, 17, 19
Kwang-Chow Bay, 55, 56
Kwantung administration, 24
  peninsula, 124
Kyung Dari, visit to, 154 sq.
Kyushu, 242

Labor, 227
  movement, 106
  Party, 97, 112
  song, 110
  unions, 96, 107
Labor and Capital Harmonization Society, 111
Laborers, Japanese, in America, 6
Laborer's News, The, 252
Lahti, Finland, 165
Lansing, Robert, 216
Lansing-Ishii Agreement, 77, 202, 214 sq.
Laos, 56
Latvia, 37, 41
Lea, Homer, 241
League of Nations, 33, 35, 37, 40, 96, 109, 112, 185, 186, 190, 191, 203, 214, 235
Leland Stanford, 205
Liaotung, 52, 53, 54, 57
Liberty, civil and religious, of Russia, 37
Li Hung Chang, 50, 51, 56, 70, 141
Literary Digest, 97, 137, 164, 165, 204
Lithuania, 37, 41
Loans to China, 75, 167
London, 57
Longford, Joseph H., 240
Losses of Japan in Siberia, 26
Lu, Mr., 92, 180
Luther's Reformation, 29

Mabie, Hamilton Wright, 237
MacDonald, Miss, 253, 255
Magdalena Bay, 200
Makino, Baron, 32, 38, 43, 101, 177
Manchuli, 24
Manchuria, 2, 3, 8, 24, 25, 57, 58, 74, 81 sq., 87, 88, 89, 90, 95, 162, 164, 187, 197, 247
  Japan in, 120
  negotiations concerning, 59
  opened to trade by Japan, 133
  population of, 123
  Russian rights in, 59
Manchus, 140
  abdication of, 135
Mansei, 150
Marshall Islands, 242
Masampo, 57
Mason, Gregory, 211
McClatchy, Mr., 204
McCormick, Frederick, quoted, 135
Meiji, Tenno, Emperor, 45, 54, 243
"Menace of Japan," 189
Merchant Marine, 224
Mexico, 188
  Japanese troops in, 202
Mikado, 50
Militarism, 45, 46, 53, 76, 101, 114, 115, 242
  cause of, explained, 79
Millard, Thomas P., quoted, 71, 75, 168, 186
Mines in Manchuria, 88
Minister of War, 104, 116, 118
Missionary propaganda in China, 85, 93

Missionary Review of the World, 181
Missionaries, 238
Mito, Prince of, 236
Mitsubishi, 228
Mitsui, 228, 264
Miyagawa, Tsuneteru, 258, 261, 265
Mizuno, Dr. Kentaro, 161
Moji, 248
Mongolia, 25, 74, 81 sq., 87, 90, 91, 187
Monroe Doctrine, American, 186
  for Asia, 185 sq.
Montreal train, 131
Morimura Ichizaemon, Baron, 267
Morphine, 182 sq.
  in Manchuria, 129
Morris, Roland S., 212, 247
Moscow, 34, 36
Mowry, Mr., 156
Mukden, 120, 235
  battle of, 60
Murayama, Ryuhei, 94
Myers, H. W., 251

Nagao, Hampei, 246
Nagasaki, 47
Naruse, Mr., 265
Nation, The, 7, 8, 21, 62, 186
National debts, 164, 221, 222
Navy, 78, 235
  in 1895, 54
  in 1905, 54
Newchwang, 120, 134
New Japan, the, 94
New Republic, The, 7, 165
New Statesman, The, 165
New York Herald, The, 201
New York Journal, The, 138
New York Times, 44, 171, 190, 204, 205
New Zealand, 221
Newspaper propaganda, 198 sq.
Nichi Nichi, 26, 198
Nineteenth Century, The, 240
Nitobe, Dr. Inazo, 198, 237, 253
Nogawa, Miss Hide, 231
Nogi, General, poem of, 120
North American Review, 208
North China Star, 28

Oi, General, 27
Okayama, 236
Okuma, Count, on Shantung, 73, 117, 192
Okura, 228
Omsk Government, 23, 29, 30, 38
Open Door, the, 59, 132, 133, 173, 189
Opium, 182 sq.
Orlando, 32, 38, 43
Osaka, 98, 228, 229, 236, 247
Osaka Mainichi, 26
Otsuka, S., 129
Outlook, The, 22, 211
Ozaki, Yukio, 44, 71, 97

"Parchesi, let's play," 213
Paris, 25, 43, 177
  Conference, 32, 101, 179
Partisan Books, 4
Peace Conference, 31, 34, 37, 77, 135, 203
Pechili, Gulf of, 134
Peking, 191
  Chinese students in, 3
Perry, Commodore, 4, 45, 47, 48, 197

Persia, 192
Pescadores, The, 52
Petrograd, 59
Pheland, Senator, 203, 208
Philadelphia Public Ledger, 105, 212
Philadelphia Quaker, 1
Philippines, 56, 182, 188
Picture brides, 205, 206
Pinghsiang coal mines, 175
Pinto, Mendez, 46
Poland, 37, 40
Police in China, 84
Policies in Siberia, 30, 45
  Japanese and American, 28
  separate, 32
  united, 33
Policy in Russia, 34
Polk, Mr., 21
Population of Japan, 240
Port Arthur, 24, 52, 55, 57, 82, 87, 121, 141, 235, 241
  attack on Russian fleet near, 60
  assault of, 120
Portsmouth, Treaty of, 60, 124, 133
Portugal, 168
Portuguese, the, 46
Postal savings, 224
Powers, the, 32, 57, 101
  Allied and associated, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 43
Prayers at Japanese Shrines, 48
Premier, the Japanese, 111, 117
Preserver of the peace of the Orient, 31
Prime Minister, 104
Princeton, 251
Prostitution, 130, 227, 229, 255, 257
Protestants, 246
Prussianism, 76
Putnam-Weale, B. F., 46, 75, 138, 183
Pyeng Yang, 156

Railroads in Japan, 224
Railroad problems, solution of, 31
Railway concessions in China, 92
Reconstruction Alliance, 99
Red Cross, 10, 33, 229, 246
Red tape of police, 131
Reforms in Korea, 50, 51
Reinsch, Dr. Paul S., 13, 167
Religion, 238, 239, 245
Resident-General of Korea, 101
Revolution, 229
  in China, 186
  in Russia, 37
Rhee, 149
Rice riots, 105
Robinson, Colonel, 28
Rogers, Admiral, 140
Roman Catholic Church, 239, 246
Roosevelt, President, 60
Root, Elihu, 211
Rumania, 37
Russia, 21, 49, 53, 54, 57, 71, 168, 235, 247
  advice of, to Japan in 1895, 53
  ambitions of, in Manchuria and Korea, 57
  anti-Japanese, 12
  feared by Europe, 161
  financial interests in, 23
  giving birth to a new idea, 29
  government of, 30
  Japan's enemies in, 33
  needs of, 171
  policy in, 34

Russia, railroad men of, 2
Russian Bear, 53
  Lumber Company, 58
  Minister, 53
  Orthodox Church, 14
  problem, 35
  railway, 197
Russians, the, 31
  in Korea, 51, 141
  in Port Arthur, 55
Russo-Japanese War, 53, 56, 164, 171, 235, 236
  agreement of 1910, 134, 135
  cost of, 60
  treaty of, 76

Sabotage, 110
Sacramento Bee, 204
Saghalin, 61, 164, 240, 241
Saigon, 56
Saint Petersburg, 60
Saito Baron, 101, 161
Saké, 14
San Francisco, 190
  pig iron at, 170
Satsuma, 48
"School Question," 205
Secrets of National Power, 189
Seiyukai, 95
Semenov, 32
Senate, American, 33
Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 77
Seoul Press, 142
Seventh Division, 24
Severance Hospital, 138
Shahokou railway shops, 126
Shanghai, 191
Shantung, 4, 26, 54, 81, 167, 169, 175, 190, 269
Shantung, coal mines of, 68
  German priority rights in, 69
    demanded by Japan, 77
  German railroad and mining concessions in, 67
  Peace Treaty on, 176, 177
  population of, 55
  resources of, 55
  solution of problem of, 190
  statements concerning return of, 192, 193
  students' ideas on, 118
  treaty on, 62 sq.
  vacillation concerning, 73
Shibusawa, Baron, 111
Shimonoseki, Treaty of, 48, 52
Shinto, 238, 244, 255, 262
Shocks, three, 47
Shogun, the, 45, 49, 79
Siam, 56
Siberia, 8, 12, 13, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 33, 56, 96, 212
  confusion in, 32
  Japanese intervention in, 21
  policies regarding, 28, 30, 45
    separate, 32
    united, 33
Siberian expedition, 21
    cost of, 44
  problem, 33
Smugglers, 13–19
Social conditions, 226 sq., 245
Socialists, 96
Soldiers, Japanese, in China, 185
Soldiers Relief Society, 31
Soldiers, return of the 34,000, 32
South Africa, 221
South America, 46
South Manchurian Railroad, 82, 87, 124 sq., 161, 188

South Manchurian Railroad, compared with Russian railways, 124, 125
freight rates of, 132
hotels of, 126
lease of, 133
mileage of, 124
schools of, 126
uplift work of, 129
Soviet forces, 32
government, 35, 36
Spain, 47, 56
Spaniard, 46
Spanish possessions, 46
Spargo, John, 34, 44, 193
on Russia, 171
Speer, Robert E., 238
Steamship companies, 224
Stephens, Governor of California, 209
Stevens, John F., 247
Straight, Willard D., 134
Strikes, 110
Students' ideas on Korea and Shantung, 118
Styer, Colonel, 27, 28
Suffrage, male, 96
universal, 119
Sumitomo, 228
Sunday school, 239, 260
Sungari River, 135
Suzuki Bunji, 106, 107, 110
Suzuki & Co., 105
Syria, 192

T'ai Wen Kun, 49, 50, 141
Takagi, Mr. M., 160
Takeyanagi, General, 95
Tanaka, Major, 26, 27
detachment of soldiers under, 26
Tayeh iron mines, 175
Temperance, 248
Tendo Sect, 152
Tendokyo, 50
Terauchi Cabinet, 94
Territorial integrity of China, 59
Third Division, 24
Thirty-First Regiment, 22
Three armies in Siberia, 95
Tientsin, 50, 56, 123, 191, 270
Treaty of, 50, 51
Tobita, 256
Togo, Admiral, 60
Tokugawa shogunate, 47
Tokyo, 8, 24, 33, 53, 229
"Tong-haks," 50
Tongking, 55, 56
Trans-Baikal, 23
famine relief of, 14
Trans-Caspian Territory, 37, 41
Trans-Siberian Railroad, 23, 247
improvement of, 29
Treat, Prof., 205, 207, 210, 212
Troops, Chinese, in Korea, 51
in Siberia, 43
Japanese, in Korea, 51
Tsaochoufu, 62
Tsao Ju Lin, 179
Tsinanfu, 67, 81
Tsingtau, 55, 73, 76, 183
Tsitsichar, 134
Tsuda, Miss, 254
Tsushima, 121, 235
battle of, 60
Tuberculosis, 227
Turtle Bay, 200
Twelfth Division, 22, 24
Twenty-one Demands, 4, 25, 57, 74, 76, 78, 167, 172, 201
printed in full, 80 sq.

Twenty-Seventh Regiment, 22
Two Hundred and Three Meter Hill, 121
Two Streams, the, 78

Uchida, Viscount, on Shantung, 178, 179
Uemura, Masahira, 254, 258
United States, 56, 168
  Note to Japan and China, 74
Universal suffrage, 119
Urals, 21
Ussuri, 28

Vladivostok, 3, 7, 10, 22, 23, 24, 57, 78, 141, 246
Vodka, 13

War Minister, 9
Washington, 33
Wei Hai Wei, 55, 191
Welch, Bishop, 162, 164
Welfare undertakings, following rice riots, 105
Weng T'ung-Ho, 70
West, secrets of the, 49
Whaling industry, 47
White patriotism, 168
Williams, Dr. S. Wells, 48
Wilson, President Woodrow, 21, 32, 38, 43, 94, 106, 149, 150, 190, 199, 212
  on secret agreements, 77
  on Shantung, 177, 178, 218, 239, 247
Winn, Dr. T. C., 129
Witte, Count, 61
Wo Jen, 52
Woman Question, 230
Woon Hong Lyuh, 137
World Almanac, 56, 222
World expansion, 239
World Outlook, The, 137
Wuchang, 175
Wu Lien Teh, Dr., 183, 184

Xavier, Francis, 46

Yalu River, 58
Yamada, 229
Yamagata, Prince, 97, 116, 211
  Civil Governor, 156
Yamamuro, Gunpei, Colonel, 257
Yamato, 187, 199
Yangtse Valley, 55, 174, 242
Yedo Bay, 4
"Yellow Peril," 189
Yokohama, 47, 48
  missionary from, 3
Yomiuri, 199, 231
Yorozu, 188, 237
Yoshino, Prof. Sakuzo, 268
  address of, 102
  interview with, 103
  on Japan's dual government, 114
Young Men's Christian Association, 10, 120, 246, 249, 252, 255, 257, 259, 261, 268
  club car of, 24
Young Men's Reconstruction Society, 97
Yuaikai, 106, 107
Yuan Shih-K'ai, 50, 51, 76, 135
  in Seoul, 140
Yufuka, 26

Zemstvos, 36, 42
Zimmerman Note, 202

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